

A HISTORY OF JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA,

1816-1902

BY

EMILY HOWARD ATKINS

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FORM 412.1M 11-48

A HISTORY OF JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, 1816-1902

A. WILSON

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1940

A. M.
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1941
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INDEX TO MAPS AND CHARTS

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Her city and county records, as well as private papers, were buried for safe-keeping, but after the fire it was found that these records had become illegible through decay. In the fire of 1901 every public building, including the United States government building, was burned together with all the public records except a few records of the county judge's office. In the confusion of the fire many citizens stored their papers in the Duval County Courthouse and in the library which were supposedly fireproof; others left their burning houses with only

PREFACE

In attempting to portray the history of Florida's largest city during the nineteenth century, the author had much difficulty in arranging the material. It was decided to group the events topically within chronological periods. Although this method is not entirely satisfactory to the author, it is hoped that the reader will be able to secure a clear understanding of the chronological development of the city.

On two different occasions all official records of Jacksonville and many private papers of her citizens have been destroyed --in the Civil War and by the fire of 1901. During the Civil War city and county records, as well as private papers, were buried for safekeeping, but after the war it was found that these records had become illegible through decay. In the fire of 1901 every public building, excluding the United States government building, was burned together with all the public records except a few records of the county Judge's office. In the confusion of the fire many citizens stored their papers in the Duval County Courthouse and in the Armory which were supposedly fireproof; others left their burning homes with only

the thought of safety for their families. Newspapers, accounts and records of many business and professional men, and libraries were destroyed by fire and water. As a result of this wholesale destruction source material is limited, and there are periods in the history of the city for which no material can be obtained.

Grateful acknowledgements are made to the following persons for their help and assistance in preparing this material: the library assistants at Jacksonville Public Library and St. Augustine Webb Memorial Library; Miss Mary Bennett, Mr. Alton W. Cockrell, Mr. W. S. Catherwood of Jacksonville; Dr. Robert H. Woody and Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University.

To W. Perry Atkins, one of the many citizens who have helped to make Jacksonville's present greatness possible, this history is respectfully dedicated.

Emily Howard Atkins

INTRODUCTION

Forty-three years before the English landed at Jamestown, more than a half of a century before the Dutch built their fort on Manhattan Island, and fifty-six years before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth, the territory along the St. Johns River in Florida was called New France. Here, in 1562, came the first Protestants to settle in America and here, in 1565, was fought the first battle between white men within the present boundaries of the United States.

The struggle along the St. Johns River was old in 1819. Spain had claimed Florida through the explorations of Ponce de León but she had made no attempt to establish a permanent settlement in the vicinity of the river. In 1562, Jean Ribault, exploring land which might serve as colonies for the persecuted French Huguenots, took possession of the river in the name of Charles IX and christened it the Riviere de la Mai. In the following years, the French tried to maintain a colony at Fort Caroline bluff, but Spain's opposition to French occupation soon led to open warfare. The massacre of Ribault and his followers by Menendez resulted in the Spanish occupation of Fort Caroline,

whose name, as well as that of the river, was changed to San Mateo. In 1568 the fort was ultimately abandoned as a result of an attack by Dominic de Gourgues whose revenge stands as one of the most daring episodes in the history of the surrounding country.

Francois Drake used the San Mateo river as a haven when he attacked St. Augustine in 1586 and, at the same time, he claimed this territory for England. The San Mateo, renamed San Juan, was included in the English Carolina grant of 1663. Spain's objection to the boundary led to desultory warfare lasting for fifty years. When, in 1733, the territory between Carolina and Florida became Georgia, another dispute arose between Oglethorpe and the Spanish over the San Juan River, which was called the St. Johns by the English, and war followed until 1748. By the treaty of Paris in 1763 following the French and Indian War, Florida was exchanged for Cuba and after one hundred and ninety-eight years of Spanish rule, the river passed to the English.

Twenty years later the American colonies gained their independence and as Florida was now an isolated colony, Great Britain ceded this territory to Spain who restored the Bahamas to Great Britain. At the outbreak of the War of 1812 a band of "Patriots," secretly backed by citizens of the United States, marched into Florida annexing the country north of the St. Johns, setting up a paper government, and destroying plantations along the river. No sooner were the affairs of the Republic of Florida settled than the "Cartagenian Rebellion" occurred. A Sir Gregor

MacGregor and his band of filibusters, who had been operating in Mexico and South America, took possession of the territory including the lower St. Johns River in June, 1817. In Fernandina, he set up a city government, issued paper money, and filled the stores with valuable merchandise which his band had obtained by illicit trade. Not being as successful as he planned, MacGregor left the territory in the hands of one of his assistants and went after more recruits on September 1, 1817. Then, on October 1, General Louis Aury appeared at Fernandina. Aury, too, was a filibuster who, narrowly escaping capture by the Spanish navy, had withdrawn his forces to Galveston where he espoused the cause of the Mexican insurgents and was made a Military Governor under the Republic of Mexico. Upon his arrival in Fernandina, the followers of the departed MacGregor appealed to him for help which he granted after they agreed to supplant the flag of the Republic of Mexico for the green cross of MacGregor. So, on October 4, 1817, the territory was formally declared a part of the Republic of Mexico.

Tiring of the continued smuggling on the southern border of the United States and the continued protesting of Spain to suppress filibustering movements against her colonies, President James Monroe sent two warships and some troops to East Florida where they remained until a yellow fever epidemic drove them away. Diplomatic negotiations for the cession of Florida to the United States which had begun in January, 1818 were completed in a treaty on February 22, 1819. On July 10, 1821 the seventh flag in the history of this territory was raised.

CHAPTER ONE BEGINNINGS OF JACKSONVILLE

Probably the earliest description in the English language of the site of the present city of Jacksonville is found in the journal kept by John Bartram during a trip made by him in 1765. He records that on February 8, 1766, he and his son encamped by a grove of orange trees, then they went on to Cow-ford, below which was a marsh, then pines, then another large marsh, and so on, alternately high oak-banks, open marshes, and flat pine woods.¹ James Egate makes the statement in his book, Jacksonville, the Metropolis of Florida, that until 1819 Jacksonville never had a human habitation.² However, according to a map entitled Floridæ Americæ Provinciarum published by Jacques Le Moyne soon after he escaped to France from the ill-fated colony at the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1565, the Indian village

¹ John Bartram, An Account of East Florida (Fernandina, 1881), pp. 70-71.

² James Egate, Jacksonville, the Metropolis of Florida (Boston, 1885), p. 11.

of Choya was located upon the present site of Jacksonville.³ This town is also mentioned by Rene de Laudonnaire, the commander of the first French colony, but it is spelled "Coya" by him.⁴ This village is listed as one of the Timucaun Indian villages by John R. Swanton.⁵ The fact that there was an Indian village where Jacksonville now stands is also proved by later evidence, such as the existence of an Indian graveyard, and the discovery of pottery and implements.⁶ This locality was first known as Wacca Pilatka, a place where the Indians forded their cattle across the river; later, it became known as Cow-ford, the English translation of Wacca Pilatka.⁷ East and West Florida were ceded by Spain to Great Britain in exchange for Cuba, thus ending one hundred ninety-eight years of Spanish rule. During the English occupation, there was a succession of plantations established along the St. Johns River. One of these plantation grants was made to the Marquis of Hastings who obtained twenty

3

Jacques LeMoyne, Brevia Narratio Forum Quae in Florida Americae Provincia (London, 1591).

4

Rene Laudonnaire, Historie Notable, pub. in P. Gafferel, Historie de la Floride (Paris, 1875).

5

John Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors (Washington, 1922), p. 325.

6

Pleasant Gold, History of Duval County (St. Augustine, 1928), p. 38.

7

Rowland Rerick, Memoirs of Florida, Edited by P. P. Fleming (Atlanta, 1902), I, p. 153.

thousand acres covering almost all of the land between the McGirts Creek on the west and the Trout Creek on the northeast, embracing the present side of Jacksonville.⁸ It was during this time that the path made by the Indians' cattle and the traders' pack ponies culminated in the King's Road. This road from New Smyrna and St. Augustine to the English settlements in Georgia touched the St. Johns River opposite the present site of Jacksonville, passing northward to the St. Mary's River. According to a map of the St. Johns River of that period,⁹ a Thomas Philipot, merchant, was granted ten thousand acres on the St. Johns River at the crossing of King's Road, where Jacksonville is now located, and on this property he built a ferry and a small store.

At the close of the American Revolution, East and West Florida were exchanged for the Bahama islands and the second Spanish occupation began. All Englishmen who were living in Florida at this time were required to conform to the Catholic religion and to swear Spanish allegiance. As a result, many of the plantations along the St. Johns River became vacated. In consequence of the foregoing, the Spanish governor granted these lands to those who would take the oath of allegiance.

Accordingly, on January 3, 1791, Robert Pritchard received

8

J. Hawks, Historical Sketch of Jacksonville, Jacksonville City Directory, 1870.

9 In possession of Florida Historical Society, Jacksonville, Florida.

four hundred and fifty acres of land on the north side of the St. Johns River,¹⁰ or on the site of the present city of Jacksonville, built a house, and cultivated the land. After his death, his heirs, through their agents, continued to cultivate the land until they were driven away by the "Patriot" revolution.¹¹ This land, in 1816, was granted to Mrs. Maria Taylor, whose husband, a loyal Spanish subject, had been killed in the Patriot revolution. The Taylor grant, consisting of two hundred acres, extended one-half mile north from the mouth of McCay's creek, three-eights mile east, and one-half mile south to the St. Johns River. Mrs. Taylor, then living on the south side of the river,¹² married Lewis Z. Hogan, who petitioned for the confirmation of the two hundred acres, now in the business section of Jacksonville. He received the verification on April 26, 1824, and it is from this grant that all present titles run.¹³

About this time another grant consisting of the remaining land east of Taylor grant bounded by the Hogan's Creek and the St. Johns River had been made to Juan Mestre.¹⁴ At first

¹⁰

American State Papers, Public Lands, IV, p. 567. Cited hereafter as Public Lands.

¹¹ T. F. Davis, The Early History of Jacksonville, Florida (Jacksonville, 1911), p. 17.

¹² Esgate, op. cit., p. 11.

¹³ Public Lands, IV, pp. 273-274.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 635.

it was believed that the grant covered one hundred acres, but the Spanish survey reported it as fifty acres, and a subsequent survey established the grant at eighty acres.¹⁵ He took possession of the property in 1817 and built a house in the middle of the last part of square one which is now the center of the northeast quarter of the square bounded by Forsyth,
¹⁶ Liberty, Bay, and Market streets. When Fernandina was attacked by the Cartagenians in 1817-1818, Juan Mestre abandoned his home as he was attached to the Spanish gunboat which was withdrawn from the St. Johns River to St. Augustine.¹⁷

When Mestre moved away the nearest neighbor of the Rogans was Isaac Hendricks who lived on the south side of the river in what is now the business section of the south side district. Mr. Hendricks was successful in accumulating this property through another's misfortune. In 1793, William Jones had received two hundred and sixteen acres "at the plantation named St. Nicholas" where he cleared the land and built his home. During the next year there was an uprising of the planters against the Spanish Government called "Wagners War." For some reason the governor ordered all settlers to move from one side of the river to the

¹⁵

Davis, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁶

Esgate, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁷

W. S. Webb, Historical, Industrial, and Biographical Florida (New York, 1885).

other and when all did not comply with his orders, he sent gun-boats to destroy the plantations.¹⁸ William Jones took part in this insurrection and for that reason he was branded a traitor to his Majesty's government and forfeited the rights to his land. William Hendricks then petitioned the Spanish governor for the land of William Jones as a grant for his son, Isaac Hendricks. The governor granted the land with the reservation that "the plain where the detachment of St. Nicholas is quartered should be kept clear for the distance of a gun shot or more."¹⁹ The papers concerning the William Jones grant state that "at the landing there are eight acres of land of the King laid off within this plat."²⁰ From this statement it would seem that Fort St. Nicholas was on the property of Isaac Hendricks.

In February, 1817, Isaac Hendricks received a grant of land on the north side of the St. Johns River to the west of the Taylor grant. This triangular tract of three hundred and fifty acres was often referred to as the "Hunger and Hardship Plantation" so unproductive was its clay subsoil.²¹ New settlers came and by 1820 there were, within a radius of five miles, or within the present limits of Jacksonville including the south

¹⁸

Gold, op. cit., p. 67.

¹⁹

Public Lands, IV, p. 378.

²⁰

Ibid., p. 379.

²¹

Gold, op. cit., p. 101.

side, ten plantations belonging to J. R. Hogan, Daniel R. Barton, E. Hudnall, John Brady, George Atkinson, Robert Hutchinson, D. R. S. Miller, John H. McIntosh, Isaac Hendricks, and
²²
 Francis Bagley--William Craig.

Reports and rumors that Florida would be ceded to the United States brought many pioneers into this section. The King's Road route from Georgia was the most convenient way of travel, and to reach points on the east coast of Florida it was necessary to cross the St. Johns River at Cowford, the narrowest place in the river. Thus, Cowford begins to gain its importance as the only gateway to Florida.

John Brady probably realized the importance of Cowford because he purchased the Juan Meatre land on June 1, 1822 after he had lived on it as a renter. Here he built a house large enough to accomodate travelers and established a ferry to transport passengers from the north side of the river at a point which is now the foot of Liberty Street.²³ So great was the number of immigrants that Mr. Brady was not able to accomodate them; therefore, Mr. Hogan opened his house for the entertainment of
²⁴
 the travelers.

²²

Gold, op. cit., p. 101.

²³

Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁴

Davis, op. cit., p. 30.

Two of these travelers, William G. Dawson and Stephen E. Buckles from middle Georgia, saw the need of a store in Cowford as the nearest stores were in St. Augustine and Fernandina. So they remained in the settlement and built a log cabin on the highway of what is now the "north side of square number three," the south side of Adams Street between Market and Newman. Stocking the cabin with New York goods bought from a sailing vessel, the firm of Dawson and Buckles opened its doors to customers from "far and near."²⁵

The success of Mr. Brady's "hotel" and Dawson & Buckles' "store" attracted persons from other places. Among these was Isaiah David Hart who was born in Georgia in 1792 but had come to Florida in 1800 and had settled near King's Ferry.²⁶ Upon hearing that the firm of Dawson and Buckles was making money, he decided to move to Cowford. On May 12, 1821 Mr. Hart purchased from L. Z. Hogans "eighteen acres of the Taylor Grant on the southeast corner of the same, to run fifty chains westward along the bank of the St. Johns, thence north twelve chains, thence east to the line of the Mestre Grant, thence down said line to the river."²⁷ It is said that he paid \$72.00 in cattle for this

²⁵

Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁶

Esgate, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁷

Ibid., p. 12.

²⁸

A. J. Drew, Brief History of Jacksonville (Jacksonville, 1910).

piece of land.²⁹ He then erected a log dwelling fronting north on Forsyth Street between Market and Newnan. Drew describes the house as being the usual form of the "doubleopen" country house, having an open passage in the center, rooms on the wings, and shed rooms in the rear.³⁰ After his home was built, Mr. Hart sent for his family and household goods. His brother, Daniel, followed later and settled on the opposite side of the road. Isaiah Hart's dealings with people proved that he was a shrewd business man. He did not let pass an opportunity to make money. Like most men, similarly constituted, he succeeded in accumulating a considerable amount of property, being the only one of the early settlers who did. In time, he bought up the entire Taylor Grant³¹ as well as other pieces of property in the town,³² and resold parts for high profits. For twenty years his home was used as a very profitable boarding house.³³ Isaiah D. Hart was a popular name in the town; scarcely a committee was appointed in the county or the town that did not include this name. Hart was connected with such enterprises as the Union Bank of Florida,³⁴ the Bank of Jacksonville,³⁵ the Florida

²⁹ Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

³⁰ Drew, op. cit., p. 26.

³¹ Egate, op. cit., p. 13.

³² Davis, op. cit., p. 38.

³³ Egate, op. cit., p. 13.

³⁴ Gold, op. cit., p. 109.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 113.

Peninsula and Jacksonville Railroad,³⁶ and the Jacksonville and Alligator Plank Road Company.³⁷ Entering the field of politics, he became an inspector of elections, Postmaster, Clerk of Courts, U. S. Congressional representative. He outlived all the early settlers dying in 1861. Isaiah and Daniel Hart were the sixth and seventh settlers at Cowford.

Other settlers followed among which were John L. Doggett, from Massachusetts, who bought the Mestre Grant from John Brady; John Warren, from Virginia, who afterward sold his store to I. D. Hart on long credit without interest;³⁸ William J. Mills, from Amelia Island, who later became the first mayor of Jacksonville; Francis J. Ross, Benjamin Chaires, John Bellamy, from South Carolina, who became outstanding citizens in the town. The change of flags took place at St. Augustine, July 16, 1821, and East and West Florida formally passed into the possession of the United States. To accommodate the increase in travelers, Dawson and Buckles built a large frame house east of their store for a boarding house, which was managed by Mrs. Sarah Waterman. This was the first frame house built in Cowford.³⁹ Joseph Andrews, brother-in-law of Isaiah Hart, built a large frame house on the

36

Ibid., p. 111.

37

Ibid., p. 124.

38

Legate, op. cit., p. 14

39

Davis, op. cit., p. 33.

south side of Adams between Newnan and Ocean streets for a boarding house.⁴⁰ It is said that even with the new boarding houses, residences had to be used to take care of the travelers.⁴¹

In June, 1822, Mr. Hogans, Mr. Brady, and Mr. Hart agreed to lay off their land as a town. Although these property owners had been urged for some time to take this action, they did not act with their "accustomed promptitude"⁴² because they did not see the advantages of such a measure. At length, however, each selected a commissioner and the work proceeded. John Bellamy, Benjamin Chaires, and Francis J. Ross, all men of wealth and standing in the community, were members of the commission which selected D. W. S. Miller to act as surveyor. It was decided that there should be six lots, 105 feet square, in each block, two lots adjoining north and south, being 210 feet; and three lots east and west, being 315 feet.⁴³ On the day that the site was to be surveyed a dispute arose between Mr. Hart and Mr. Brady as to the dividing line between their property. They finally agreed that the starting point should be a tree claimed by Mr. Hogans to be a corner tree at the foot of the present Market Street.⁴⁴ From this point north a street eighty feet

⁴⁰ Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴¹ Gold, op. cit., p. 102.

⁴² Esgate, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴³ Davis, op. cit., p. 34.

⁴⁴ Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

wide was laid out and later named Market Street. The next street laid out was called Bay.⁴⁵ The first square designated and numbered was east of Market and north of Bay Street. The next square surveyed was across Market Street, west of No. 1, and it was called No. 2. The square north of this was numbered 3, and east of that, No. 4. After the surveying began, it was found that Mr. Brady's buildings would be in the street on the east of Square No. 1. So another tier of lots was added on the east side of Square No. 1, making eight lots instead of six. Thus the range of blocks between Liberty and Market Streets is composed of eight lots.⁴⁶ Next, Square No. 5 was surveyed east of Square No. 1, the King's Road leading north from the river separating the two squares. This street was named Liberty although for many years it was called Ferry Street. The square north of No. 5 was called No. 6, north of that, No. 8, west of that No. 7, and west of that No. 9.⁴⁷ The surveyors started again at Bay Street west of No. 2 for No. 10. No. 11 and No. 12 were drawn off north of No. 10. Beginning again at Bay Street, this time east of Washington Street, No. 13, east of No. 5 was surveyed. To the north, Squares No. 14, 15, and 16 were laid off. The

⁴⁵

Both Egate and Webb state that this street was eighty feet wide, but Davis states that it was seventy feet wide.

⁴⁶ Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

surveyor then turned west and marked off Nos. 17, 18, 19, and
 20. Here the work stopped and was never resumed.⁴⁸

The original survey included the squares between Catherine and Ocean streets and Duval and Bay streets. Most of the streets were named in honor of outstanding persons, Newnan Street, in honor of Colonel Daniel Newnan, a Georgia leader in the Indian war of 1812; Forsyth Street, for General John Forsyth, who was sent to Spain to conduct negotiations concerning the treaty whereby Florida was ceded to the United States; Monroe Street, in honor of James Monroe, who was the President of the United States at that time; Adams Street, for John Q. Adams, who was Secretary of State; Duval Street, in honor of William P. Duval, who was the first Civil Governor of Florida; Washington and Liberty Streets indicated the patriotism of the commissioners; Ocean Street, Webb states, was so named because the waters covered the face of the whole earth westward of the west half of Square No. 10 as far as could be seen.⁴⁹ Others, however, believe that Ocean was originally Ossian, in honor of the son of I. D. Hart.⁵⁰

On the day that the town was surveyed, many lots were sold by Mr. Brady and Mr. Hart. John Bellamy bought lot No. 4 of Square No. 1 from Mr. Brady,⁵¹ but the deed, drawn up by Abraham

⁴⁸ Webb, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

⁵⁰ Davis, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵¹ Webb, op. cit., p. 117.

Bellamy, was never recorded. On the same day, D. H. S. Miller bought all the lots in Square No. 5,⁵² but this deed was never recorded. Stephen J. Rubanks purchased one of the south lots in Square No. 2 including the margin to the river for \$12.00.⁵³ Mr. Brady conveyed to Benjamin Chaires and Francis Ross a lot on the northeast corner of Forsyth and Market Streets. Immediately, the two commissioners gave this lot to the county for the erection of a courthouse.

Several days before the land was surveyed, the name "Jacksonville" was suggested by Colonel John Warren,⁵⁴ who had served in Andrew Jackson's army during the Creek War. The statement "General Jackson said to Mr. Hart, 'Colonel, this is going to be a place'" is without foundation. General Jackson never came into East Florida. Mr. Hart had no more to do with naming the town than did anyone else present at the survey. No objection was made when Colonel Warren suggested the name.

The first Territorial Legislative Council, on August 12, 1822, divided East and West Florida into four counties, one of which was "the part of East Florida lying north of the River St. Johns, and north of a line commencing at a place called Cowford, on said river, and terminating at the mouth of the

⁵²

Ibid., p. 117.

⁵³

Ibid., p. 117.

⁵⁴

Eggle, on. cit., p. 15.

Suwanee River, shall constitute a county by the name of Duval..."

Fulfilling an act passed by the Legislative Council June 11, 1823, "three discreet and impartial persons" appointed by the County Court met and decided that the settlement at the Cowford, which had been laid out the previous year and named Jacksonville,⁵⁶ should be the county seat. Of course, there were older and larger settlements in the county which might have been chosen for the county seat. For seventy years San Antonio (Mandarin) and St. Vincent Ferrer (St. Johns Town) had been the headquarters where the planters transacted their business on the most convenient highway of travel, the St. Johns River. These settlements held their prestige while the river was the main artery of travel. However, when the English built the King's Road crossing at the narrowest point on the St. Johns, Cowford became an important place from the standpoint of being the only gateway to the south. Evidently the Legislative Council realized the importance of the Cowford because they named Jacksonville as the temporary seat of justice until the permanent one could be determined. Then, too, Benjamin Chaires and Francis Ross had donated a lot in Jacksonville for the county court house two months before Duval County had been created.

55

Acts of Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1822, p. 3. Cited hereafter as Acts of Legislative Council.

56 Gold, op. cit., p. 100.

The first County Court assembled on December 16, 1822 at the temporary seat in Jacksonville to transact county business pertaining to road building. Mr. Benjamin Chaires was appointed the first judge by an Act of the Territorial Legislature but the United States Congress declared this act null and void.⁵⁷ Instead, four Justices of Peace, Thomas Reynolds, William G. Dawson, Rigdon Brown, and Britton Knight,⁵⁸ presided at the first term. George Gibbs, "a gentleman of the Old School,"⁵⁹ was the clerk; James Dell, the sheriff; and Daniel C. Hart, the deputy. It seems, however, that the sheriff left most of his work to be done by his deputy.⁶⁰ When Dell moved to another county, Daniel Hart received the position of sheriff as well as that of the United States Deputy Marshall.⁶¹

On December 1, 1823 the first regular court convened with the Honorable Joseph L. Smith, the father of General Edmund Kirby Smith, presiding. The first grand jury consisting of John Bellamy, foreman, S. J. Eubanks, John Houston, Isaac Tucker, Charles Broward, John Price, James Dell, William Matthews, Cotton

57

Webb, op. cit., p. 117.

58

Davis, op. cit., p. 103.

59

Esgate, op. cit., p. 15.

60

Ibid., p. 15.

61

Davis, op. cit., p. 39.

Rawls, A. G. Loper, Llewellyn Williams, Charles Seton, John D. Braddock, Nathaniel Wilds, Stephen Vanzant, John C. Houston, and Seymour Pickett⁶² was impanelled on the next day. The first civil case was that of Ephraim Harrison vs. John D. Vaughn.⁶³ The cause of the action was not stated and the case was postponed until the next term.

Almost all of the early legal papers were drawn up by Abraham Bellamy, the first lawyer resident of Jacksonville.⁶⁴ He was the son of the famous "old Jack Bellamy," contractor of the St. Augustine-Tallahassee highway and former resident of Jacksonville. Bellamy practiced mainly as a counselor and arbiter of disputes. John L. Doggett, merchant, lumberman, and ferryman, was also admitted to the bar during the early days of the town.⁶⁵ At the time of his death in 1844, Doggett was judge of the County Court.

In October, 1823, John L. Doggett, working in the capacity of lumberman, contracted with Duval County to erect a courthouse on the lot which had been donated by Chaires and Ross for that purpose; however, work was not begun until 1825. When the timbers were ready for framing, the people gathered and under

⁶²

Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 154.

⁶³ Webb, op. cit., p. 118.

⁶⁴ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 75.

⁶⁵ Ibid., II, 75.

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the guidance of Seymour Pickett, raised them in two days. The courthouse which was forty feet square and two stories high faced Forsyth Street. At first it was supported by large hewn timbers; later, these were replaced by brick pillars. Broad steps on the east and the west led up from the ground to a long wide portico supported by brick pillars. The building was entered through a large double door about ten feet high. Inside, broad steps on the east and the west led to the upper story. The windows were about seven feet high and four feet wide, protected by white pine double shutters which closed out the wind, rain, and "also the light."⁶⁷ While the building was incomplete, the hall over John Warren's store was used as a courthouse.⁶⁸ As the county failed to pay John Doggett, work on the building was halted. The Legislative Council on February 7, 1834 passed the following Act:

Whereas, the court house of Duval County is in an unfinished state, and there are yet due and owing upon the same, monies, which is believed will impose too burdensome a tax upon the people of Duval; and whereas, it is desirable to pay these said sums and complete said building; for the administration of justice, as well as for the double purpose of an academy, for which purpose in part the said building when completed is designed: Therefore, be it en-

⁶⁶ Davis, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

⁶⁸ Webb, op. cit., p. 110.

acted, that it shall and will be lawful for Joseph B. Lancaster, Isaiah D. Hart, and William J. Mills, or any two of them under the direction of the County Court of Duval County, to raise by lottery in such scheme or schemes as they may deem appropriate and advisable, any sum of money not exceeding \$6000.00 providing, that the said persons which bind themselves in such a manner as the said court shall direct, will and truly conduct such lottery in good faith and to appropriate the proceeds to the object above stated. ⁶⁹

The managers of the lottery were allowed six per cent of the money raised. The use of the courthouse as an academy is the first reference to a public school building in the history of the county. One of the early newspapers in the town states that the courthouse which was built in 1824 was still in an unfinished state and required repairs in 1835.⁷⁰ The plan for raising the money to pay for the courthouse by lottery was evidently a failure because the Legislative Council repealed the ⁷¹ Act of 1834 on March 5, 1842. Egate describes the court-⁷² house as "one of the most substantial and best-built structures ever made of wood."

Soon after the courthouse had been started, a jail was

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Acts of the Legislative Council, 1834, pp. 43-44.

⁷⁰ Jacksonville Courier, January 29, 1835.

⁷¹ Acts of Legislative Council, 1842, p. 18.

⁷² Egate, op. cit., p. 16.

built on the northwest corner of Duval and Market streets. A few years later it was burned; then a two room jail was built in the yard of the courthouse. Both the courthouse and the jail were burned by the United States troops in 1863.⁷³

In 1830 Duval County had a population of 1,970. Separate returns for Jacksonville were not made until 1850, but its population was estimated at less than three hundred. It was at this time that Jacksonville desired incorporation.

CHAPTER TWO
BEGINNINGS OF JACKSONVILLE (CONTINUED)

Jacksonville was incorporated by Act 70 of the Legislative Council of 1832 which defined the boundaries of the town as "a point on the South bank of the river St. Johns, opposite Hogan's Creek, on the north side, running north half a mile up said creek, thence west one mile and a half to McCoy's Creek, thence south to a point on the south side of the river St. Johns, opposite McCoy's Creek, thence east to the point of beginning."¹ The channel of the river was included in the corporate limits of the town. The charter which was granted at this time was liberal. It provided for a government vested in a mayor and a council of four aldermen to be elected annually by qualified voters. Candidates for these offices had to be residents for at least a month and to be "housekeepers therein." Beside the ordinary powers and duties granted to officers, the council had the power "to regulate wharfage, dockage, and mooring and anchor-

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1832, pp. 106-112.

ing vessels" and "to erect bridges and ferries and establish the rates of ferrage and tolls."² Section 14 provided that Isaiah D. Hart, John L. Doggett, and Henry H. Burritt, or any two of them be appointed inspectors to superintend the election for mayor and councilmen on the first Monday in April, 1832. The election was carried out in accordance with this section and William J. Mills, an outstanding business man, was elected the first mayor.

Jacksonville was the ninth town in Florida to be incorporated.

The charter of the town of Jacksonville was amended several times during the period before the Civil War. On February 9, 1834 the section of the charter which stated that a voter must be male, white, twenty-one years of age or over, and a resident of the town for one month was eliminated. Under the new act, the proper qualifications were to be determined by the inspectors of the election. In addition, the name of William J. Mills was substituted for that of S. L. Burritt as an inspector of elections.³ Then, on February 10, 1835, two more charter changes were made. First, the corporate limits of the town were changed "beginning at the mouth of McCoy's Creek at the St. Johns River, running thence up said creek opposite John W. Richard's sugar

² Acts of Legislative Council, 1832, p. 110.

³ Ibid., 1834, pp. 60-63.

house; thence from said creek by a line running due north so as to include said sugar house to the main road leading to St. Mary's River; thence by a straight line to Hogan's Creek at a point where Sweetwater Branch empties into said creek, down the same to the mouth, thence by a line due south to the south bank of the river St. Johns, thence up the bank of said river to Hendrick's Point, thence across the river to point of beginning.⁴ Secondly, the suffrage was given to all white male residents, over the age of twenty-one living in the town's limits for three months previous to any election.⁵ Again, in January, 1837, the town was enlarged, this time on the north side. The boundary which previously ran to John Richard's sugar house now continued to a point on McCoy's Creek where Richard's fence joined the creek; then the boundary line ran across to the King's Road as in the previous boundary and down to the Hogan's Creek to the river.⁶

The town of Jacksonville had no charter for the year 1840 as the charter of 1832 was repealed on March 2, 1840. However, the new charter provided broader powers as to health and quarantine, construction of docks, ferries, and public buildings,

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1835, p. 293.

⁵ Ibid., p. 293.

⁶ Ibid., 1837, p. 4.

provision for the poor, the establishment of schools, the limitation of the qualifications for voting to twelve months residence in Duval County and six months residence in Jacksonville.⁷ Again, on March 4, 1842, the boundaries of the town were increased.⁸

Jacksonville became a "city" by an act of Legislature in 1859. Under the charter amendment, the municipal officers consisted of mayor, eight aldermen, city marshal, city treasurer, and clerk of the council, all to be elected by the popular vote. Although the marshal was elected by direct vote, under the charter, the mayor had the power of his removal.⁹ At this time the night law enforcement body consisted of two patrolmen who were selected by the marshal each day from the male citizens to serve from 8:00 p.m. to 2:00 a.m. though by paying two dollars one could be excused from this duty only once. The duty of these patrolmen was to arrest every colored person caught out after 9:00 p.m. without a pass from his owner. The jail, commonly known as the "Jug," at the foot of Market Street, was the place of confinement until the morning when the offenders were brought before the mayor, fined, and released.¹⁰

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1841, pp. 12-19.

⁸ Ibid., 1842, p. 21.

⁹ Gold, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁰ O. L. Keene, Jacksonville Fifty-Three Years Ago (Jacksonville, 1905).

The period from the incorporation of Jacksonville to the admission of Florida into the Union was marked by an industrial awakening. Although development along this line was somewhat retarded by such disasters as the Seminole War and the panic of 1837, the fact that progressive enterprises were planned, and in some cases, undertaken, shows that the people of Jacksonville were interested in the progress of the town. Even though the population of Jacksonville in 1830 was less than three hundred, the incorporation of two railroad companies, the establishment of a newspaper, and the opening of a bank were indicative of the bustling activity of the citizens. Both residents of the town and wealthy plantation owners who transacted their commercial and legal business in Jacksonville encouraged these enterprises.

The first of the railroad companies to be incorporated was the Florida Peninsula and Jacksonville Railroad in 1834, which was authorized to construct and complete a railroad from Jacksonville to Tallahassee where it was to be united with the road to St. Marks.¹¹ The capital stock was not to exceed \$1,000,000 and J. B. Lancaster, I. D. Hart, Farquhar Bethune, William G. Mills, and Stephen Eddy were appointed to take subscriptions and to act as directors from Jacksonville.¹²

The second company was the East Florida Railroad, incor-

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1834, p. 59.

¹²

Ibid., p. 59.

perated in 1835 to build from any point on the St. Johns River to the Gulf of Mexico. The capital stock was to be limited to a half a million dollars and subscriptions were to be taken at Boston, Massachusetts, St. Augustine, and other points in the Territory.¹³ Joseph B. Lancaster, I. D. Hart, Farquhar Bethune, William G. Mills, and Stephen Eddy were appointed to supervise the subscription book in Jacksonville.¹⁴ The route contemplated was from some point on the St. Johns to the Gulf of Mexico, but with the proviso that it should not interfere with the route of the Florida Peninsula and Jacksonville railroad. Neither of these proposed roads was built because of the Seminole War and the panic of 1837, but their incorporation indicates interest in the industrial development of the town.

Another enterprise which was begun at this time was the establishment of the Jacksonville Courier, on January 1, 1835, the first newspaper in the town. The Courier was published by L. Currier and Company, a Boston firm, and was edited by a Mr. Williams. Esigate says of the Courier, "it was a neat and handsome paper, and was ably edited by one of the most genial and unselfish men that ever graced this place."¹⁵ However, the

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Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 169.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁵

Esigate, op. cit., p. 16.

Seminole War paralyzed almost every enterprise and the proprietors realizing that they could no longer continue, on September 1,
 1836 "left the country, never to return."¹⁶

The third enterprise was the Bank of Jacksonville which was incorporated in 1835 with a capital stock of \$75,000 and a charter to run until 1860. Eight per cent was allowed for loans. Then, too, the bank had the privilege of issuing currency limited to an amount not to exceed three times the amount of money actually in the vault of the Bank of Jacksonville. The money had to be redeemable in gold and silver and the stockholders were responsible in their corporate and individual capacity for the ultimate redemption of all issues and debts of the bank.¹⁷ As the raising of capital for the bank did not meet with success, on February 12, 1837, the Legislative Council extended the time of subscription to October 1, 1837. Joseph Dell, Joseph B. Lancaster, John L. Doggett, and Hardy H. Phillips were named as new superintendents. By January, 1838, \$25,000 had been raised regardless of the panic of 1837, for an act of the Legislative Council, approved January 30, 1838, increased the capital to \$100,000 and authorized the Bank of Jacksonville to increase its capital stock in such a manner as the directors might direct.¹⁸

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Eggle, op. cit., p. 18.

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1835, pp. 294-297.

¹⁸

Ibid., 1838, p. 12.

The creation of this bank, the insubstantial character of its capital, and its methods of doing business in general was in harmony with the enormous inflation of credit characteristic of this period. Naturally, when the inevitable crises came, the Bank of Jacksonville, in spite of its spectacular attempt to remain open, went out of existence with the other banks in the country in 1840.

In addition to the panic of 1837, two other disasters occurred which helped to retard the growth of the town.

The first disaster of this period occurred on February 8, 1835, the coldest weather ever known up to that time, or since, so far as the records go. A severe north wind blew for ten days during which time the temperature reached between seven and eight degrees above zero. ¹⁹ The St. Johns River was frozen for several rods from the shore. Wild groves as well as cultivated orange trees were killed to the ground by the intense cold.

To add to the difficulties, the Seminole War began in the winter of 1835. Resenting the treatment by the white men, the Indians took this time for revenge. They came out of the swamps of Central Florida, attacking the white people living in the interior. Many of these people escaped the Indians and sought refuge in the towns. Acting upon a suggestion by the governor, a blockhouse was built in Jacksonville on the northeast corner

of Monroe and Ocean streets²⁰ which was then the outer edge of the town. This building was a large square room raised from the ground in a stilt-like manner. One entered through a door in the floor by means of a ladder which was drawn up in case of an attack. Slits in the walls and the floor served as lookouts for Indians as well as places through which to shoot. Sentries were placed on duty at night, for every rumor of Indians in the section caused the timid to seek protection in the blockhouse after dark.²¹ The blockhouse remained in this place for fifteen years during which time it served not only as a fort but as a place for holding religious services and public meetings.

By 1837, Jacksonville had become the gateway for the transfer of the United States troops to the scene of the war. Troops came by way of the King's Road to Jacksonville where they embarked for the interior. During the stopover in Jacksonville, the troops used the courthouse for barracks.²² As a result, the Legislative Council, on February 8, 1838, asked Congress for \$6,000 for repairs on the courthouse.²³ As Jacksonville was a supply depot during the war, the United States government built a long, one story building on the south side of Bay Street be-

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Esgate, op. cit., p. 70.

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Webb, op. cit., p. 120.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 114.

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1838, p. 80.

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tween Main and Laura streets to be used as a store room.

According to the Courier the U. S. Building and the government wharf were blown down by a gale which had begun on August 1, 1837. ²⁵
The steamboat Esseon was used for the transporting of troops and supplies up and down the St. Johns River. ²⁶

During the Seminole War many plantations along the river in the vicinity of Jacksonville were visited and destroyed by the Indians. The letters of J. P. Belknap ²⁷ show the condition of this section of the country during the war. Mr. Belknap, a Harvard graduate, had settled at Mandarin, Florida, to raise silk worms. In a letter dated July 10, 1840 he says that the continuance of the war and the total failure of the mulberry market deprived him of all resources. "Neither can I do anything at improving my orange grove without exposing myself to danger, for Indians are bolder than ever." He adds that the Indians have committed murder upon the public roads, which, in the past have been traveled in safety. In another letter headed "Near Mandarin" January 1, 1842, he says, "the Indians came into the very neighborhood of Mandarin, murdered one family and plundered and burnt out three... This is the third time I have been obliged

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Davis, op. cit., p. 64.

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Jacksonville Courier, August 3, 1837.

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Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 213. Also spelled "Essayon."

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Letters of J. P. Belknap reprinted in Davis, op. cit., pp. 72-75.

to abandon my place and sacrifice time, money, and everything but my life..."

Stephen Eubank, in his will dated February 17, 1837, states that the Seminoles had taken four hundred head of cattle, and six horses from his plantation on Cedar Swamp, a few miles from Jacksonville.

Another story of the Seminole raids is told by Z. T. Roberts, grandson of James McCormick, to P. A. Gold.²⁸ Roberts says that after his grandfather had successfully defended his home against the Indians, the invaders set out to the home of Berry Johns whom they shot from ambush. Mrs. Johns, after dragging her husband into the house, barred the door, but the Indians battered it down. They seized her, shot her, took her scalp, set her and the house on fire, and left. Mrs. Johns still had strength enough to crawl to a pond by the roadside where she lay until she was found by her father-in-law and a Mr. Lowther.²⁹ Later, she was removed to a comfortable boarding house in Jacksonville where she received medical attention which led to her complete recovery.³⁰ An editorial in the Courier blames the continuance of the Indian

²⁸ Gold, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 117.

³⁰ A Seminole Tragedy: a Narrative of the Life and Suffering of Mrs. Jane Johns who was wounded and scalped by the Indians in East Florida in 1836 (Jacksonville, 1875), p. 14.

³¹ Ibid., p. 19.

raids upon the incompetence of the military posts. The editor said that the Indians were "allowed" to come into the posts and towns and walk away with cattle, food, and scalps without interference from the soldiers.³²

Such conditions destroyed the comparatively extensive trade that Jacksonville had enjoyed with the interior and caused the abandonment of the enterprises which had been contemplated. It is assumed that the population of the town was increased temporarily during this period by the people who were seeking protection from the Indians, by the adventurers who came from other places to enjoy the danger of the war, and by the people who were tired of hard times and poor health in the north. After the danger of war passed, the plantation owners returned to their homes, and the adventurers looked for new frontiers. However, the people who came to seek health and fortune became residents of the town.

One of these residents who came to Jacksonville in 1838 later became one of the town's most valuable citizens. Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin came to Florida for his health. Here, he practised his profession actively for sixty years. Though this profession is sufficient to absorb the energies of an ordinary man, so great was his industry, his capacity for work, and his fertility of intellectual resource that he was a leader in many

³²Jacksonville Courier, August 3, 1837.

important enterprises. For many years, before the United States weather service was organized, he kept a complete meteorological record.³³ He was a botanist who had traveled extensively studying plant life. His artistic nature was not neglected for he played several musical instruments and carved on wood and ivory.³⁴ He was profoundly attached to Jacksonville, and his long and useful life was devoted to the advancement of the interests of this town.

At the time Dr. Baldwin arrived, the local conditions appeared to be primitive even though the trade was good and the merchants did a comparatively large business.³⁵ The residences were mostly one story, cheaply built, wooden houses. The stores were rough buildings with crude fittings. A slab wharf, small and rickety, was the only landing place for vessels. There was not a wheeled vehicle in town, except a second-hand hearse and a dray. Sam Reed, a venerable colored man, with an equally aged mule, officiated in burying and draying.³⁶

³³ Record in City Directory of 1870.

³⁴ Davis, op. cit., p. 77.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 94.

³⁶ Daily Florida Union, March 22, 1861.

CHAPTER THREE

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

During the twenty years preceding the Civil War, there was definite advancement along intellectual and religious lines.

After the first failure of the newspaper Courier, the ownership passed to Haslem, Dexter and Company,¹ but soon the paper was again discontinued. Once more the ownership passed to A. Jones Jr. and Company who changed the name to the East Florida Advocate on September 7, 1839. This paper lasted until December, 1840.² In 1840 Alex McKay and Company proposed to start the East Florida Journal³ but nothing ever came of it. There is a lapse in Jacksonville journalism between January, 1841 and December, 1842. It is odd for a town which had a news-

¹ J. O. Knauss, Territorial Florida Journalism (DeLand, 1926), p. 34.

² Ibid., p. 119.

³ Ibid., p. 36.

paper for six years to be without one for two years. Evidently, the town was feeling the effects of the panic of 1837 and the Seminole War.

The failure of the East Florida Advocate left Jacksonville without a newspaper until G. M. Crouard of Washington established a paper in December, 1842 called Tropical Plant.⁴ The successor to this paper was the Florida Statesman established in April, 1845.⁵ According to the Whig Banner of Palatka on June 20, 1846, the Statesman was sold to the Jacksonville News⁶ which had been moved from St. Augustine to Jacksonville in 1841.⁷

In 1845 the Florida News, a Democratic newspaper, was transferred from St. Augustine to Jacksonville where it led the field until 1848.⁸ At this time Columbus Drew, who worked on the old National Intelligencer, came to Jacksonville to take editorial charge of the Republican, a Whig journal.⁹ The News and the Republican became intense rivals, being political opposites, and did much fighting of a sensational character for their respective parties. The News enlarged its paper on May

⁴ Knauss, op. cit., p. 124.

⁵ Ibid., p. 124.

⁶ Ibid., p. 124

⁷ Davis, op. cit., p. 93.

⁸ Ibid., p. 93.

⁹ Drew, op. cit., p. 38.

18, 1852 and improved the printing.¹⁰ Both plants, however, were destroyed by fire in April, 1854.¹¹ In time they reappeared, the Republican becoming the St. Johns Mirror and the News changing to Southern Rights edited by Steele and Doggett.¹² In 1855 Columbus Drew established a book and job printing business which afterwards became the firm of H. & W. B. Drew Company.¹³

Though the conditions were not favorable to a system of free common schools, there were efforts in that direction in the early days. Laws had been passed by the Legislative Council as early as 1828 authorizing the lease of the sixteenth sections school lands and the appointment of commissioners to take charge of such lands.¹⁴ The first general school law passed in 1839 provided for three trustees in each township to care for the school section, and apply the profits for support of the school.¹⁵ If there were no common schools, the trustees were to establish and maintain them.¹⁶ At the same time two per cent of the Territorial tax and auction duties were appropri-

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Florida News, May 15, 1852.

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Florida Republican, Extra, April 6, 1854.

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Florida Times Union, February 6, 1883.

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Drew, op. cit., p. 38.

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Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 168.

¹⁵

Ibid., I, p. 168.

¹⁶

Gold, op. cit., p. 118.

ated for the education of poor orphan children.¹⁷ This was increased to ten per cent in 1840.¹⁸ The trustees were elected by popular vote. As the homes were so far apart and travel was so uncomfortable, it was difficult for the trustees to give much attention to school matters. Later, the judges of county courts were made superintendents of the common schools, and the trustees were required to make a report to the judges on the first of each year.¹⁹ Still, nothing was done along the lines of the common school in Jacksonville. Many of the families had private teachers for their children or sent them to private schools. One such private school was taught by a Mr. Roe who had a log house near the river. He taught a few months, then moved on to a new locality.²⁰ Another example of the early school was the one established by Colonel John Broward for his children and those of his friends. The teachers were brought from the north and a full course of study was offered. Among the teachers in Mr. Broward's school were J. P. Belknap, who had made a failure of his silk worm industry in Mandarin, and Mr. and Mrs. Edward A. DeCottes, who came from Charleston. Several children — from Jacksonville attended this school. They were driven out to

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Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 168.

¹⁸

Gold, op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁹

Ibid., p. 121.

²⁰

Ibid., pp. 264-266.

Trout River, rowed across the river by a slave, spent the week at the Broward home, and returned to Jacksonville on Friday.²¹

In the decade before the Civil War, the children continued to be taught by private tutors. During this period there was a private school opened by Miss Lucy Berney on the edge of town.²² A Mrs. Kurvie conducted a school on the northwest corner of Monros and Newman streets and Professor Quarterman was located on the corner of Market and Adams streets across from the Court-house.²³ Colonel Broward's community school, mentioned previously, continued to function during this period. In the August 7, 1850 issue of the Florida News, A. N. Reed advertises "School Books for Sale."²⁴ By 1850, W. F. Brown had established a private school for both boys and girls.²⁵ He called it the Classical and English Institute and guaranteed full preparation for any college course. It seems that his school building was used for many of the town meetings according to notices in the local paper. A "Female Institute" was established on August 6, 1855 by Mr. and Mrs. Bernstead. The course of study was not strenuous as a student was allowed to select as little as one

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Gold, op. cit., pp. 271-274.

²²

Ibid., p. 264.

²³

Ibid., p. 336.

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Florida News, August 7, 1850.

²⁵

Ibid., April 24, 1852.

or two subjects. Tuition was paid according to the difficulty and number of the subjects.²⁶ Evidently there was another girls' school in town as a statement in the News of May 15, 1852 says that the "Jacksonville Female Institute has been in operation for two years."²⁷

During this period there was a distinct religious awakening. Early in the forties several religious groups took the necessary steps to organize themselves and to build small churches. The first church seems to have been built by the Baptists in 1840 on the northeast corner of Duval and Newnan streets. Prior to this, religious services were held in the room above John Warren's store.²⁸ Later, the courthouse and the blockhouse were used for general worship. The following notice appeared in the Courier: "Rev. Mr. Hackett, Catholic Priest, will preach this afternoon at seven at the Court House."²⁹

The organized church work of the Methodists in Jacksonville began in 1823 or 1824 when several itinerant preachers were sent into East Florida.³⁰ Cowford was on the circuit of Rev. John Jerry who made the lonely rides "on horseback, carrying

²⁶ Florida News, October 13, 1855.

²⁷ Ibid., May 15, 1852.

²⁸ Webb, op. cit., p. 122.

²⁹ Jacksonville Courier, August 3, 1837.

³⁰ J. C. Ley, Fifty Two Years in Florida (Dallas, 1899), p. 28.

his clothes, books, lunch, and a little sack of corn to feed
 his horse."³¹ From the diary of Rev. Isaac Boring it is noted
 that Jacksonville was visited by the itinerant about once a
 month. He says, concerning his visit to Jacksonville, May 17,
 1829, "for the first time I was allowed to preach in the court
 house."³² This is his first reference to a specific place of
 worship in this town. There is no doubt that after the block-
 house was built, the Methodists held their services there. The
 first church occupied by the Methodists in Jacksonville was
 erected as a Union church³³ by the Baptists³⁴ in 1840.³⁵ Two
 churches holding services in the same building at the same time
 did not prove satisfactory so the Methodists bought the church
 from the Baptists about 1845. As the congregation grew, the
 little chapel became too small to accommodate the worshippers.
 Buying the space on the corner, the Methodists erected a larger
 building in 1857³⁶ and named it St. Paul's. This building was
 used until 1889 when it was sold to the Roman Catholics for \$500,
 "including the pews, pulpit, and bell," to be used for a parish

³¹Ley, op. cit., p. 29.³²Ibid., p. 41.³³Esgate, op. cit., p. 74.³⁴Davis, op. cit., p. 80.³⁵Ibid., p. 80.³⁶Esgate, op. cit., p. 74.

hall.³⁷

The Baptist denomination was organized in 1838 under the name of "Bethel Baptist Church" with six members, Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Mr. and Mrs. Elias G. Jaudon, and two colored persons, Peggy (Jaudon) and Bacchus (Edwards).³⁸ As the congregation had increased by 1840, the Baptists purchased the north-east corner of Duval and Newnan Streets where a small frame meeting house was constructed. Prior to this, meetings were held once a month by Rev. Ryan Frier in the old blockhouse.³⁹ On February 10, 1841, the Baptist church was incorporated and William B. Kass, Charles Merrick, Solomon Warren, Elias G. Jaudon, H. H. Phillips and A. Asseian (Ossian)⁴⁰ were named trustees. In 1845 the Baptists sold their church to the Methodists and bought a plot of land in La Villa where they built a small brick church. This church served as a station for both Confederate and Union soldiers during the war between the states; it was never used as a church again. In the meanwhile, the Baptists had erected a new church on Church Street between Laura and Hogan, the lot being a gift from Deacon Jaudon.⁴¹

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Davis, op. cit., p. 81.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 86.

³⁹ Segate, op. cit., p. 75.

⁴⁰ Acts of Legislative Council, 1841, pp. 11-12.

⁴¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 87.

Probably the first Protestant Episcopal church services in the county were held in the courthouse at Jacksonville on April 12, 1829, by the Rev. Alphonse Henderson, a missionary from St. Augustine.⁴² There was but one communicant living in town at that time.⁴³ The Parish was organized April 4, 1833 according to the general laws concerning religious bodies. After the Episcopal congregation was incorporated by an Act of the Legislative Council on February 23, 1839,⁴⁵ the members began to raise money with which to build a church on the two Duval Street lots donated by John L. Doggett.⁴⁶ The members were successful in raising money for the building because the cornerstone was laid on April 24, 1842, by Rt. Rev. Christopher Edwards Gadsen, Bishop of South Carolina, and the building was completed in 1851 when it was consecrated by Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliot, Bishop of Georgia.⁴⁷ In building the early church, every person who contributed a certain sum of money was given a deed to a pew in his own right, and the same was entailed by his heirs.⁴⁸ The early church had a choir led by the versatile

⁴² Zagare, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁵ Acts of Legislative Council, 1839, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁶ Gold, op. cit., p. 105.

⁴⁷ J. J. Daniel, Historical Sketches of the Church in Florida (Jacksonville, 1906), p. 16.

⁴⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 83.

Dr. Baldwin, who played the bass viol, and composed of J. W. Bryant, first flute; William Lancaster, second flute; Mrs. A. N. Reed, melodeon accompanist and singer; Miss Eliza Lancaster, singer; and William Douglas, singer.⁴⁹ Mrs. Susan L'Engle loaned two small waiters and two silver cups for the communion service.⁵⁰ The first regular rector was Rev. David Brown, who was succeeded in 1845 by Rev. John Freeman Young, who later became bishop of the diocese.⁵¹ Rev. Isaac Smart became rector in 1848 and was succeeded by Rev. W. D. Marlow in 1851.⁵² It was during Mr. Marlow's ministry that the first church edifice was consecrated.⁵³ At the close of Mr. Marlow's pastorate in 1855, Rev. W. W. Bours, who later died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1857,⁵⁴ became rector. Rev. Bours' vacancy was filled by Rev. S. L. Kerr,⁵⁵ who was followed by H. H. Hewett, a northern man, in 1861.⁵⁶

The first record of a Presbyterian denomination is the charter granted by the Legislative Council on March 2, 1840.

⁴⁹ Davis, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

⁵¹ Egate, op. cit., p.

⁵² Ibid., p. 76.

⁵³ Florida News, May 1, 1852.

⁵⁴ Webb, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵⁵ Davis, op. cit., p. 84.

⁵⁶ Webb, op. cit., p. 122.

O. Congar, Owen Dorman, Harrison Blanchard (who was also named a trustee of the Episcopal Church), Stephen Eddy, and L. D. Miller were named as the trustees.⁵⁷ The services in the forties were held in a small house on the southeast corner of Ocean and Monroe streets as the church was not built until 1857 or 1859.⁵⁸

The Roman Catholics during this period received the ministrations of visiting priests from St. Augustine and Tampa as the parish was not organized until 1857,⁵⁹ when the Rev. Frank Hamilton came from Savannah to reside permanently in Jacksonville as a pastor. The first purchase by the church was the northwest corner of Duval and Newnan streets from I. D. Mart probably in 1848.⁶⁰ Although several of the old citizens have stated that there was a church building on the northwest corner of Duval and Newnan Streets as early as 1851, there is no record of a church until 1857 at which time Rev. Mr. Hamilton supervised the building of a "small though neat church and a handsome residence."⁶¹ During this year the Methodists replaced their old structure by a larger one. The Presbyterians, too, erected a church at this time but thirteen of their most active members moved to

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1840, pp. 63-64.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 90.

⁵⁹

Eggle, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶⁰

Davis, op. cit., p. 84.

⁶¹

Eggle, op. cit., p. 73.

Fernandina leaving Dr. J. H. Mitchell as the only remaining male member.⁶²

62

Gold, op. cit., p. 126.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANTE-BELLUM TRANSPORTATION

From the earliest times the St. Johns River was the main highway of travel. Even the coming of the railroad did not seem to affect the importance of river transportation.

John Brady sold his property (Mestre Grant) and moved to Alabama in January of 1823. Evidently he sold his ferry to John L. Doggett because the Legislative Council on December 29, 1824, granted Doggett a franchise to establish a ferry on the St. Johns River at Jacksonville for a term of ten years and no one else could establish or keep a ferry within five miles unless it were for private use. Mr. Doggett was required to keep a flat boat, in good repair, large enough to carry a loaded wagon and team; and to keep enough canoe boats to answer purposes of transportation at all times. The tolls were subject to the regulation of the county court and the Legislative Council.¹ The ferry mentioned by Bartram in his travels during

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Acts of the Legislative Council, 1824, p. 78.

1774 was probably operated from the south side of the river. It is believed that either William or Isaac Hendricks operated a ferry from the south side of the river as early as 1800. Nevertheless, a seven year franchise to conduct a ferry "across the St. Johns River on the south side of the Cowford opposite Jacksonville in the county of Duval" was granted to William Hendricks on February 4, 1837. This franchise carried exclusive rights for two miles.² The following year Mr. Doggett's franchise of 1824 was revised and continued until 1845.³ Nothing was said about the effect of this franchise upon the one given to Mr. Hendricks the previous year so evidently there were two ferries.

On January 5, 1859 a franchise was granted to William A. Young for a "Cowford Ferry" at Jacksonville. This act provided that if any white man interfered with this ferry, he should forfeit \$25, and if any Negro or mulatto should interfere, he should receive thirty-nine lashes.⁴

In 1839 preliminaries for a proposed survey of the harbor of the St. Johns River were made. The Legislative Council passed a resolution on January 29 petitioning Congress to appoint a competent engineer and to make a suitable appropriation to survey

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1837, pp. 8-9.

³ Gold, op. cit., p. 115.⁴ Ibid., p. 125.

the bar of the St. Johns River.⁵ The resolution and preamble shew the importance of the river at this early date,

Whereas, the river St. Johns in East Florida, is one of the first magnitude upon the Atlantic Coast, south of the Potomac, being some two to three miles in width, and extending from its mouth into the interior through a fertile region more than three hundred miles, connected at various points with important navigable tributaries, and looking to the time, which it is hoped is not far distant, when the Indians, who inhabit a great portion of the lands bordering upon the said river and its tributaries, will be removed, and the pursuits of agriculture no longer be interrupted; and whereas, the commerce of the said river is rapidly increasing and its waters must soon become the outlet to the production of a vast extent of country and whereas, it is confidently believed and asserted by practical and scientific men that the bar at the mouth of the said river is susceptible of great importance and that a break-water would deepen the water upon said bar and eminently improve its navigation... ⁶

As the harbor of the St. Johns was growing, a Board of Port Wardens was created by the Legislative Council in 1839. At first the board consisted of three members; later it was increased to five. The rates of pilotage at the bar had been established a few years before. The pilots were allowed \$2.00 for each foot of water which the vessel drew, and \$2.00 per day for each day the pilot was detained on board, and should any

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Acts of Legislative Council, 1839, p. 61.

⁶Ibid., p. 61

vessel, bound for the port of the St. Johns without a pilot, refuse to take a hailing pilot, such pilot could demand and receive from the master of the vessel the same fee as if he had been received on board. The master of any vessel outward bound, refusing to take on board a pilot, was liable to pay one-half of the piletage, and the fees were made recoverable before any court of justice.⁷

The first steamer to ply the waters of the St. Johns River was the "George Washington," in 1830.⁸ This steamer was followed in 1834 by the "Florida."⁹ During the Seminole War the "Essecon"¹⁰ or "Eseayon"¹¹ carried government troops and supplies on the river. During the forties, a small steamer called "Sarah Spaulding," captained by Paul Canova, plied between Jacksonville and Fort Milton on Lake Monroe.¹² The "Darlington" came in 1852 and remained the regular boat from Jacksonville to Enterprise until 1860. Mr. James Brock, the captain, found his business of carrying passengers to Enterprise so profitable that he built a tourist hotel at the end of the line and added the "Hattie Brock" to his steamboat route.¹³ Naturally, Captain Brock could not

⁷ Acts of Legislative Council, 1827, pp. 159-160.

⁸ Hawke, op. cit.

⁹ Kegate, op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁰ Florida News, May 15, 1852.

¹¹ Ibid., May 22, 1852.

¹² Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 214.

long maintain his business unrivaled. The "William Barnett" captained by Thomas Shaw was put on the same route by another company.¹³ A year later her boiler exploded killing her captain and a number of passengers.

Steamboat navigation between Savannah and the St. Johns River began about 1845, the earliest boats being the "Ocmulgee," "St. Mathews," and "William Gaston."¹⁴ In 1851 the "Welaka" and "Magnolia" were placed on this line, but, through misfortune, both became wrecks. These two were replaced in 1853 by the "Seminole" and the "St. Johns." These, too, were destroyed by fire at the dock in Jacksonville. The hull of the "St. Johns" was raised and rebuilt; after the War Between the States, her name was changed to "Helen Getty."¹⁵ The last of these antebellum boats built for this line was the "magnificent" iron steamer, "St. Marys," commanded by Captain James Freeman.¹⁶

Not to be outdone by Savannah, Charleston, too, established a line through Jacksonville to Palatka. In 1851 Captain Lewis N. Coxetter put on the "fine" steamer "Florida" followed in two years by a larger vessel "Carolina." Before the war, he added

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Davis, op. cit., p. 98.

¹⁴ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 214.

¹⁵ Ibid., II, p. 214.

¹⁶ Ibid., II, p. 214.

the "Everglades," one of the most "magnificent" steamers on the St. Johns; the "Cecille," a "fine" iron steamer; the "Gordon" and the "Callahan," ocean going steamers, to the line. The "Gordon," commanded by Captain Thomas Lockwood, afterward became famous as the steamer on which the Confederate States commissioners to England and France, Mason and Slidell, ran the blockade at Charleston Harbor and proceeded to Havana.¹⁷ The Charleston and Savannah lines were both re-established after the war.

There were also many small craft and privately owned boats on the St. Johns. One of these noted river boats was the "William Gaston" captained by Charles Willey who was noted for blowing his whistle to the great annoyance of many who wished to sleep after midnight.¹⁸ One observer stated that he had seen six schooners in Jacksonville at one time taking on lumber.¹⁹ This situation brought up a problem in law enforcement. The presence of many sailors, who, after patronizing the barroom, made it difficult for the local authorities to enforce the laws.²⁰ As a result, the Legislature gave the sheriff of Duval County powers to cope with the sailors. On December 22, 1856, it was

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Rerick, op. cit., II, 215.

¹⁸ Keene, op. cit.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Gold, op. cit., p. 314.

made unlawful for any sailor of any vessel lying in the St. Johns River, or Black Creek, to enter the premises of any citizen, or to use firearms upon the premises of any citizen of the county on the Sabbath, the penalty being from twenty to one hundred dollars fine.²¹

The phrase "returning in time to meet the tide at the bar" appears in all the advertisements of the steamboat lines during this period. Although the St. Johns River was more than well suited to large steamboat navigation, much coastwise and foreign trade was delayed by shallow water on the river bar. One of the first citizens to realize that this condition was retarding the commercial growth of the town was Dr. A. S. Baldwin. After studying this problem from a scientific as well as from a practical standpoint, he decided that the water at the bar could be deepened considerably by closing Fort George inlet. He published a four column report of his findings in the Florida

News.²² In the same issue, the editor urged the people to study the plan and to offer comments. It was assumed, he said, that this work could be done for about \$15,000 to \$20,000.²³ A week later the News carried a notice that all citizens interested in

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Gold, op. cit., p. 125.

²²

Florida News, April 24, 1852.

²³

Ibid.

in the improvement of the bar would meet on May 7 at Mr. Brown's school house.²⁴ The meeting was held according to the News. Dr. Baldwin, the principal speaker, spoke for more than an hour, showing maps, charts, scientific data and answering questions about his report. The meeting then decided that a committee composed of Dr. Baldwin, I. D. Hart, and Dr. Charles Byrne, should "get behind our delegation in Congress" to secure the necessary funds for this undertaking.²⁵ The committee evidently acted immediately for in a statement prepared by Mr. Edward C. Cabell, representative from Florida in Congress, he said "the bar at the entrance of the St. Johns can not ordinarily be passed by vessels drawing over thirteen feet, but inside it is navigable by vessels of twenty-five feet draft, as far up as Jacksonville ... an effort will be made this fall (1852) to deepen the water at the bar to twenty feet by an expenditure of \$20,000."²⁶ On December 11 the News announced the arrival of Lt. Wright of the Engineer Corps to take charge of work for the improvement of the bar.²⁷ However, Dr. Baldwin's plan was proved impractical and the interest of Congress was turned by Senator Yulee to the

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Florida News, May 1, 1852.

²⁵

Ibid., May 8, 1852.

²⁶

Rerick, op. cit., II, pp. 173-174.

²⁷

Florida News, December 11, 1852.

development of the rival harbor, Fernandina.²⁸

The land transportation problem in Jacksonville was quite an unsatisfactory one even in 1850. George R. Fairbanks in a communication to the Jacksonville Times Union and Citizen describes the various routes a traveler would be obliged to take if he were leaving the town. To get to St. Augustine from Jacksonville, one could suffer a forty mile drive over King's Road, or one could take a steamer up the St. Johns River to Picolata, then take the "primitive hack" for an eighteen mile drive to St. Augustine, accomplished in Bridier's stages in four hours over a road that was sometimes wet and always sandy. To get to Tallahassee, one might take a steamer from Jacksonville on the St. Johns to Middleburg on the Black Creek, transferring here to a hack line which went through to Tallahassee via Newnansville, Madison and Monticello, stopping every night at the stage stand and reaching Tallahassee in five or six days; or one might go via Savannah, Macon, and Thomasville; or by steamboat down the Chattahoochee River from Columbus, Georgia. To get to Pensacola from Jacksonville by the shortest route, one had to go to Savannah by boat, then by rail to Macon and Montgomery, and then south to Pensacola. Later, the stage route to Black Creek, Newnansville to Tallahassee was changed to a hack line from Jacksonville to Alligator. The road was very rough, "roots lying on the surface,

the impact with which would send the unprepared passenger up against the top or with a painful jerk against the standards. The weary four-miles-or-less-an-hour drag during the long, dark nights, for then the hacks kept on night and day, was an experience long to be remembered.²⁹" Both the stage lines and the steamboat companies tried to outdo each other in advertising in the local papers. To moderate some of the discomforts of travel, a plank road from Jacksonville to Alligator was begun. The road commenced at Bay and Newnan streets, extended up Newnan to Duval, Duval to Laura, Laura to Church and on towards Alligator. After eight miles had been completed, the work ceased because, in the meanwhile, a railroad was projected.³⁰

When Florida became a state in 1845, there was but one railroad in the whole state and that was the Tallahassee, St. Marks and Iola-St. Joseph Line.³¹ On January 12, 1849 the first Internal Improvement Act was passed by the state legislature authorizing special and limited co-partnerships, or associations, to be formed for the purpose of constructing railroads, or canals, or making other internal improvements in the state. In a statement made about internal improvements of Florida prepared by Florida's representative to Congress in 1862, Mr. Edward

29

Rerick, op. cit., II, pp. 170-171. Fairbanks' statement reprinted here.

30

Keene, op. cit.

31

Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 170.

Cabell, recommended the construction of seven railroads in Florida, four of which would pass through or terminate on the St. Johns River or at Jacksonville.³² However, there was no acceptable method of aiding the railroad construction until January 6, 1855 when the legislature approved a plan of internal improvement which is understood to be the production of David L. Yulee, Fernandina, and James T. Archer, Tallahassee, although Richard Long, Tallahassee, Dr. A. S. Baldwin, Jacksonville, and John C. Pelet, Manatee, were also on the committee.³³ This bill was a general law which involved material aid to the railroad companies.³⁴

One of the first corporations to take advantage of this general law was the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central to build a sixty mile line from Jacksonville to Alligator.³⁵ Its president was Dr. A. S. Baldwin,³⁶ one of the authors of the Internal Improvement Act of 1855. To carry on the work of the railroad, Jacksonville issued bonds in 1857 for \$50,000.³⁷ These were the

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Statement of Edward C. Cabell printed in Rerick, op. cit., II, pp. 173-174.

³³ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 175.

³⁴ Ibid., II, pp. 176-177.

³⁵ Ibid., II, p. 176.

³⁶ J. P. Sanderson succeeded Dr. Baldwin as president in 1859.

³⁷ Davis, op. cit., p. 146.

first bonds to be issued by the town of Jacksonville. Ground was broken for the road early in March, 1857.³⁸ F. F. L'Engle was the first locating engineer; later, James L. Gregg was the chief engineer until he was killed in the Judson House, March 19, 1859.³⁹ The road reached Lake City⁴⁰ on March 13, 1860. On the fifteenth of March, the railroad company offered an excursion to Lake City. This was quite an unusual celebration for many people had never seen a railroad engine. Although some reacted unfavorably to the new invention, the train, pulled by the locomotive "Jacksonville," left town with a capacity crowd.⁴¹ A week later the railroad company offered a similar excursion to the citizens of Lake City. The people of Jacksonville took this opportunity to stage a large celebration. The visitors were welcomed by Dr. H. Steele, the mayor, and a barbecue was prepared in the oak grove on the corner of Laura and Forsyth streets. After the barbecue, a ceremony took place at the Judson House, in which Miss Holland, of Jacksonville, and Miss Kate Ives, of Lake City, with pitchers mingled the waters of the St. Johns and Lake DeSoto.⁴² After this performance Columbus Drew

³⁸Keene, op. cit.³⁹Ibid.⁴⁰

The name Alligator was changed to Lake City on June 15, 1859.

⁴¹Keene, op. cit.⁴²Ibid.

read an original poem, "Railway Greeting," which he had written for this occasion.⁴³

42

Drew, op. cit., p. 39.

CHAPTER FIVE

JACKSONVILLE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Until the sixties Jacksonville was a small but interesting village "which had not yet arrived at the dignity of paved streets."¹ Bay Street was a sandy trail about thirty feet wide and upon this road between Ocean and Pine streets all the business was located. Mrs. Abigail S. Barrs, one of the old residents, said that "in the harbor there were always a great many schooners from different parts of the world who had come here for lumber, and the sailors constantly patronized the bar-rooms and were a menace to all law abiding citizens. The dwelling houses were scattered back on the sandy trails that led north, east, and west into the woods."² From a description of the town about 1850³ given to T. Frederick Davis by Mrs. W. M. Bestwick, an old resident, the following chart and legend has been made.

¹ J. F. Tenney, Slavery Secession and Success (San Antonio, 1934).

² Gold, op. cit., pp. 314-317.

³ Davis, op. cit., pp. 104-116.

JACKSONVILLE ABOUT 1850

St. Johns River

LEGEND

1. Long wooden one story building called "Government Building"
2. Sawmill of Mr. J. B. Barbee
Destroyed by fire at an early date
3. Store and wharf of General Thomas Ledwith
Succeeded by Alsop & Bours
Joined by a brick building occupied by C. D. Oak, jeweler
4. Store of Gunby & Fernandez
Succeeded by Fernandez & Bisbee
Succeeded by Bisbee & Canova
5. Store of S. N. Williams
6. Book store of McRory
7. Building of Finegan and Belchasse
Succeeded by Dr. Theodore Martridge
8. Store of Bellows
9. Store of Santo
U. S. Mail delivered from here at first
10. Store and tailor shop of Morris Keil
- 11-
12. Dwelling and wharf of Captain Charles Willey
Succeeded by Columbus Drew
13. Fish market--first market in town
14. Ferry of Judge J. L. Doggett
15. Large grove of trees where out-of-door functions were carried on
16. Small shop of a carpenter
17. Dwelling of E. A. DeCottes
18. Dwelling of Stephen Vandergrift
19. Steep sand hill where children played
20. Machine shop
21. Sawmill and dwelling of Finegan

- 22. Grist mill
- 23. Large cornfield
- 24. Residence of Tony Canova
- 25. "Merrick House" which was said to be "haunted"
- 26. Residence of J. C. Hemming
- 27. House of Mr. Adams, afterwards Mr. Gillett, later Mr. Mooney
- 28. One of the oldest houses in town
Occupied by Watermans, afterwards Hickmans, later Dr. Murdock
- 29. Storehouse, later school house
- 30. Residence of J. L. Doggett
- 31-
- 32. Homestead and law offices of J. L. Burritt
Most pretentious house in town
- 33. Boarding house of I. D. Hart
House kept by Mr. Hart, Mrs. Hatch, Mrs. Flotard, Mrs. Maxey,
Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Hedrick
- 34. Residence of Mr. Harrison
- 35. Two stores of Dr. Byrne
- 36. Large building for offices
- 37. Residence of Judge J. C. Cooper
- 38. Property of Zeb Willey, later Phillip Fraser's house
- 39. Home of Captain Armstrong
- 40. Small store of Captain John Middleton
- 41. Office of Dr. Rex
- 42. Colored barber shop of Henry Houston
- 43. Store of Paul Canova
- 44. Wine and liquor firm of Miller and Blackwood
- 45. General merchandise store of Dr. Foreman, afterward Gunby

46. General store of Barnard & Farrer, afterward Moss & Ambler, later Ambler & Hoeg
47. Store of Rosenthal, first Hebrew merchant
48. Tailor shop of Goff
49. Store of Mr. Cutter, later Morris Keil
50. Residence of Thomas W. Jones
51. Home of the Mills, afterward Mrs. Bowman, later J. W. Bryant
52. Home of William Douglas, later Ross
Here, under huge tent, a traveling daguerrotypist took "fine" pictures.
53. Grocery and dry goods store of A. M. Reed
54. Shop of Calvin Oak, gunsmith
55. Residence of A. M. Reed, later T. Douglas
56. Stables and garden of A. M. Reed
57. Home of Dr. Foreman
58. Garden, home, and office of Dr. Baldwin
59. Dwelling of A. M. Reed, later occupied by Walter Kipp, Mrs. Herbert, Captain L'Engle, George Powers, Judge Rodney Dorman
60. Home of Cyrus Biebee
61. House of I. D. Hart
62. Home of Judge Bethune
63. House of Myers family
64. House of Jane and Dick, servants of Mrs. Douglas
65. Home of Donaldsons, later Thebauts
West of this was a large grove of trees where celebrations were held
66. Home of Turknett
67. House of servants
68. Home of Mrs. Poinsett, afterward Kipp, later Keil

- 69. Home of Mrs. Dewees
- 70. Dwelling occupied at different times by Kipps, Fletards, Traceys, Hallidays, Sandersons
- 71. Boarding house of Crespos
- 72. House occupied at different times by Barnards, Crabtrees, Gregoreys, Allisons, Hearns, Suttons, Crespos
- 73. Home of William Grothe
- 74. Residence, office, and stables of Dr. H. D. Holland
- 75. Buffington House
- 76. Home of Stephen Fernandez, later Dr. R. P. Daniel
- 77. Jewelry shop of William Grothe and U. S. Post Office
- 78. Dwelling of Mrs. Maxey
- 79. Clark's office
- 80. U. S. courthouse
- 81. Jail enclosed by high brick wall on top of which was barbette of broken glass
- 82. Small house of Mrs. Herbert, teacher
- 83. Home of John Pons and his son-in-law, Jack Butler
- 84. Home of Mr. Barbee
- 85. Odd Fellows Hall
Upper story used for lodge, lower story used for school, yard used for playground
- 86. Homes of Dr. Theodore Hartridge and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Hobby. Before 1851, a sea captain's home
- 87. Home of Mr. Pons
- 88. Home of Felix Livingston
- 89. Home of Mrs. Pennimore, fashionable dressmaker
- 90. Home of the Flemings

91. Home of Judge Lancaster, later of Hearns, Suttons, Garnies
92. Home of Capt. William Ross
93. Boarding House
94. Buffington House stables, later converted into California House
95. House of the Gibsons
96. Home of Congars
97. Small meeting house of Presbyterians
98. Home of Ledwiths
99. Home of Ximanes, Spaniards, who were fishermen and mockingbird salesmen
100. Home of Columbus Drew, Sr.
101. Blockhouse, later boarding houses of Mrs. McCoy, Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Mattair
102. Residence occupied successively by J. W. Bryant, Judge Daniel and others
103. Episcopal Church
104. Church
105. Church
106. Homes of free Negroes called Negro Hill
Owned by I. D. Hart

Efforts to beautify the town were begun about 1850 when a negro, April Sauriz, upon the direction of Dr. A. S. Baldwin and General Thomas Ledwith, planted live-oak and water-oak trees along the streets of Jacksonville. In later years these trees added much to the beauty of the city and caused the city to deserve the name of "Forest City."⁴ There were not many lawns or gardens at this time as the grass and bushes were cut close to the ground for fear of snakes.⁵ Colonel Ledwith tried to improve his yard by planting Bermuda grass and Dr. Baldwin attempted a garden although it was "in bad need of drainage."⁶ There were very few orange trees within the town's limits because people were disgusted with raising them after the freeze of 1835.⁷

More successful than the artistic development of the town was the industrial development in this period. During this time the principal industry was lumber and naval stores. In 1850 the first circular saw mill in East Florida was built at the mouth of the Pottsburg Creek. The following year John Clark built the second circular saw mill on East Bay Street near

⁴ Egate, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵ Keene, op. cit.

⁶ Davis, op. cit., p. 109.

⁷ Keene, op. cit.

Hogan's Creek; later, he added a planing mill.⁸ During 1851 and 1852 steam saw mills were established by the Taylor Mill, Finnigan and Company, Scott and Boulter, Foster and Stephens, Reed, Holmes, and Wilson, S. Fairbanks, and P. Moody.⁹ Local trade was maintained largely by furnishing supplies to the mills and loggers. In the logging business slaves were usually hired from their masters. Advertisements for slave labor appear from time to time in the local papers of this time. A chopper was supposed to cut ten logs a day--for all over that amount he was paid and allowed to keep the money. A good ax man could cut twice his quota in a day. It was observed by Tenney, a northern lumberman, that "as far as our observations and experience went, the institution of slavery was far from being the 'horror of horrors'¹⁰ that people of free states imagined it to be."¹¹ In 1855 the annual exportation of lumber was 25,000,000 feet.

Since its earliest days Jacksonville has been a town of hotels. From the time of John Brady and Dawson and Buckles, the fame of Florida as a health resort spread over the country. As far back as 1823, Charles Vignolles wrote of the climate of Florida and its effect upon health:

⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 117.

⁹ Keene, op. cit.

¹⁰ Tenney, op. cit.

¹¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 136.

That the climate of Florida is good for patients of a consumptive habit, is notorious--several persons during the last winter and spring, from Carolina and elsewhere, having recovered their health. And that the air is not at any season hurtful is generally known by the fact that the ladies walk, unharmed, after dark with only a light covering over their heads... 12

That this and other information about Florida increased the population in Cowford is evidenced by the fact that I. D. Hart moved to the town and built a large home which was used as a boarding house profitably for twenty years. Others, too, built houses for the purpose of keeping boarders, but it was not until 1846 that the first "hotel" was built by Oliver Woods at the southwest corner of Adams and Newnan streets. 13 This hotel was purchased in 1850¹⁴ by Samuel Buffington and its name was changed to Buffington House. After he improved the property and made additions until the hotel consisted of nearly a hundred rooms, 15 Buffington House was destroyed by fire in 1859. By 1852, there were three other small hotels, the Taylor House, on the corner of Bay and Market; the Crespo House, on the southeast corner of Adams and Ocean; the Coy House, on the site of the old Seminole

12

Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 114.

13

Davis, op. cit., p. 135.

14

Florida News, August 7, 1850.

15

Davis, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁶ Blockhouse. All of these hotels had advertisements in the Florida News. According to A. J. Day of Damariscotta, Maine, Jacksonville needed a first class hotel, so he decided to erect one.

Mr. Day began by purchasing the western half of the block between Julia and Hogan streets, from the river back to Forsyth Street for \$3000. ¹⁷ Next, he brought his labor from Maine but the contract for the lumber was given to a local man, John Clark. The hotel was completed, named "Judson House," and opened its doors for business in November, 1854. O. L. Keene, who was the manager from October, 1855 until March, 1862, describes the hotel as being a wooden building of four stories fronting 136 feet on Bay Street and 136 feet on Julia Street. There were 110 sleeping rooms, two fine parlors, a reading room, a spacious office, a dining room 80 by 40 feet and "all the necessary appointments" for an up-to-date hotel of that time. The building had an upper and lower piazza on both fronts making over 500 feet of piazza space. The ground below Bay Street on the river front also belonged to the hotel and was used as a vegetable garden. ¹⁸ It is said that the cost of the hotel was \$125,000. ¹⁹

¹⁶

Keene, on. cit.

¹⁷

Davis, on. cit., p. 134.

¹⁸

Keene, on. cit.

¹⁹

Davis, on. cit., p. 134.

Tenney, a northern lumberman, in a description of Jacksonville in 1859 implies that the only redeeming feature of the "little village and a poor one at that" was one good hotel--the Judson House.²⁰ Judson House was burned on March 11, 1862 by a mob of men thought by some to be Confederate soldiers,²¹ by others to be marauders.²²

Two other enterprises were established in Jacksonville in 1859. The first gas works were built on East Bay Street by a Mr. Waterhouse of New Jersey.²³ The capital was \$18,000 taken up in small subscriptions by various citizens.²⁴ The gas was made of resin,²⁵ and the price at that time was \$8.00 a thousand cubic feet. The other enterprise was the building of the first telegraph line in this section from Jacksonville to Baldwin where it connected with a line from the north.²⁶

Besides business enterprises, organizations for common interests were formed during this period.

The Florida Lodge No. 1 of the Independent Order of Odd

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Tenney, op. cit., p. 1.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 131.

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New York Daily Tribune, March 24, 1862.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 145.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 126.

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Webb, op. cit., p. 125.

²⁶

Gold, op. cit., p. 127.

Fellows was established in Jacksonville in 1844. A lodge room was built on the southeast corner of Adams and Market streets on a lot donated by one of its charter members, John L. Doggett.²⁷

In Jacksonville, Dr. A. S. Baldwin organized the first Medical Society in Florida in 1853. The original members were Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Charles Byrne, a former army surgeon and outstanding citizen; Dr. R. P. Daniel, a former navy surgeon; J. Gadsen Dell, collector of customs for the port; Dr. Henry D. Holland, planter and physician; and Dr. John S. Murdoek, physician from South Carolina.²⁸ Another early physician who deserves credit for his activities is Dr. Miles Jones Murphy who came to Jacksonville in 1856 from South Carolina. He secured a shanty near the edge of town, had it whitewashed inside and out, put a cancer case in one room and an incurable ulcer patient in the other. This venture, which was supported by Mrs. Murphy and Mrs. Theodore Martridge,²⁹ was the first movement for a hospital in Jacksonville.

The Jacksonville Light Infantry was organized April 30, 1857. The first street parade was held July 4, 1859 when the company marched to East Jacksonville where they had two hours of target practice.³⁰

²⁷Gold, op. cit., pp. 120, 105.

²⁸Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 157.

²⁹Ibid., p. 155.

³⁰Gold, op. cit., p. 338.

³¹Keene, op. cit.

Many calamities occurred during this period. The first was an epidemic of dengue or broken-bone fever which came in 1849. Fortunately the period of disease was short and no deaths occurred. A more serious epidemic of smallpox was experienced during the summer of 1853. It seems that an outstanding citizen, Mr. J. W. Bryant, contracted this disease in Georgia. When he returned, he was taken sick at the Buffington House. Both his friends and the other occupants of the hotel soon developed cases of smallpox which resulted in a severe epidemic.³²

The ringing of the fire bell which hung from a tripod over the public well at Newnan and Adams streets on April 5, 1854 notified the citizens that the town was being destroyed by fire. As early as 1850 efforts had been made to improve the method of fire fighting in Jacksonville³³ by digging wells at intersections, installing bells at convenient places, and buying a new fire engine. The engine was not complete though, for Mrs. Maxey's boarding house burned because the engine had no suction hose with which to draw the water from the river after the wells at the intersections had "gone dry."³⁴ On April 17, 1852 a group of interested citizens met for the purpose of organizing a Fire

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Davis, op. cit., p. 96.

³³

Ibid., p. 124.

³⁴

Ibid., p. 126.

³⁵ Florida News, August 7, 1850.

Engine Company.³⁶ The committee appointed at this time later recommended that the fire engine, which had been bought in 1850, could be repaired for thirty dollars and that equipment sufficient for protection could be purchased for two hundred dollars. The committee also recommended that a committee of thirty-two capable people be appointed as a permanent Fire

Engine Company.³⁷ However, the fire which broke out in 1854 proved that the Fire Engine Company was not organized nor well equipped enough to protect the town. In four hours the business portion of the town was in ruins. It is supposed that a spark from the Charleston steamer "Florida" ignited S. N. William's hay shed on the wharf. As there was a strong wind blowing at the time and as the building material used in Jacksonville was mostly pitch pine, the fire spread rapidly in all directions. Every exertion was made by the citizens, firemen, ladies, and Negroes to control the flames, but, unfortunately, a portion of the fire apparatus was burned. The two printing offices of the Republican and the News were destroyed, the latter entirely, and the former partially. Seventy buildings were destroyed, the estimated loss being \$300,000, one-half of which was insured.³⁸

36

Florida News, April 24, 1852.

37

Ibid., May 8, 1852.

38

Florida Republican, Extra, Jacksonville, Florida, April 6, 1854.

At the time that the fire was destroying the business section of the town, a severe epidemic of scarlet fever was raging. Numbers of persons died as the type was most malignant. ³⁹

When the news of the yellow fever epidemic in Savannah during 1854 reached Jacksonville, the citizens were determined that the town would not be exposed to a third epidemic. So the authorities prohibited the Savannah steamers stopping or passing by Jacksonville on their way up the St. Johns. Captain Nick King who brought the mail from Savannah laughed at this proclamation and proceeded to pass by Jacksonville. At this defiance, a group of citizens got an old condemned cannon, took it to the foot of Catherine Street, loaded it with a 32 pound shot, and waited for Nick King to come back. About dark the steamer came into sight close in on the opposite side of the river. As the boat came in line with the pointed cannon, the shot was fired and the ball passed through the forward gang-way of the vessel. The gun was rapidly reloaded, this time with a 6 pound shot, and fired; the ball passed through the cabin of the ship almost hitting a Negro who was lighting a lamp. ⁴⁰ The steamer made no more trips until the epidemic at Savannah was declared at an end. This real shot-gun quarantine probably prevented the introduction

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Davis, op. cit., p. 132.

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Jacksonville Tri Weekly Sun, January 22, 1876.

of the yellow fever in 1854.

The whole country went through a money panic in 1854. Although the effects were felt in the Jacksonville lumber industry, trade was maintained and there was not a failure in business.⁴¹ With a profound faith in the future of the town, the citizens were busy rebuilding the stores which had been destroyed by the fire. Better buildings were erected, and in some cases, substantial brick buildings replaced wooden shanties.

Again, on November 15, 1856 at four-thirty in the morning a destructive fire broke out in a block of wooden buildings on the south side of Bay Street between Pine and Laura streets. The firemen had difficulty in confining the flames to the south side of Bay Street.⁴²

Two inches of ice formed on pools and the margin of the St. Johns River on January 19, 20, 1857. The temperature went down to 16° and again, the orange trees were killed.⁴³

The following summer the yellow fever was brought to Jacksonville from St. Mary's, Georgia, by Mr. Nathan Vaught who lived near McCoys Creek. The McFalls, who lived near the Vaughts soon took the fever, and from there, it was spread to the Currys who lived near them. In the meanwhile, friends called on

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Davis, op. cit., p. 133.

⁴²

Ibid., p. 140.

⁴³

Ibid., p. 140.

the sick and in this way contagion spread through the town. Business was suspended as many people left town to escape the dread disease. The only store which remained open was a drug store operated by Dr. E. P. Webster who prepared the necessary medicines for those who could not pay as well as for those who could pay. Grass grew up in the deserted streets; steamers passed by the town at full speed; there was no contact with the outer world during the summer of 1857. One hundred and twenty-seven deaths occurred out of the six hundred cases of fever,⁴⁴ or ten per cent of the total population of the town died at this time. Fortunately, there came an early frost on October 26, and on November 20 the temperature fell to freezing.

The population of Jacksonville in 1850 according to the United States Census was 1,045. An increase of 199 per cent was made over the estimated population of 1840. Esigate estimates that there were about five hundred white people in town in 1850. Twenty-two per cent of the people in Duval County lived in Jacksonville at this time.

In the years 1850 to 1860 the town doubled its population. During 1860 travel and the mails increased, steamers came and departed regularly, and business was good. But as the newspapers began to give more space to editorials on the abolishment

of slavery and travelers began to bring in more comment on the grave problems facing the country, the public mind drifted into political, rather than into commercial, channels.

CHAPTER SIX

JACKSONVILLE IN THE CIVIL WAR

Although Florida seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861, there was a distinct element of opposition to secession in Jacksonville. This opposition came from a group of northern men who had invested a large amount of wealth in the lumber business. Many of these men had become outstanding citizens. During the year 1860 the question was debated both in public and private places. It is said that when the passenger train would come into the station, all hands would leave the coaches for the platform where they would listen to a fiery speech by some prominent passenger, then resume their former places and go on. The Jacksonville Light Infantry, commanded by Captain Holmes Steele, volunteered its services to the state of Florida.¹ Governor Milton ordered this company to erect a set of fortifications on the south side of the St. Johns River between Mayport and the ocean. Fort Steele, as it was named, consisted of entrenchments of sand and palmetto logs, and four 32 pound guns

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Berick, op. cit., p. 245.

which had been brought from the fort at St. Augustine. When the Jacksonville Light Infantry was mustered into Confederate service, the fort at the mouth of the river was abandoned.

The Second Florida Infantry was mustered in at the Baptist Brick Church near Jacksonville on July 13, 1861, by Major W. T. Stockton, a former United States army officer.² This regiment, with the First Florida Infantry, was the first Florida regiment to join the Confederate army outside of the state. It left the city by rail on July 16 and participated in most of the battles of the Army of Northern Virginia.³

The Third and Fourth Florida Infantry were mustered in as a result of a call for additional regiments. The Jacksonville Light Infantry joined the Third Infantry on August 10, 1861. The Third Infantry remained for a while in the county, but later joined the army of the Middle West and surrendered with General Joseph E. Johnston near Durham, North Carolina on April 26, 1865.⁴

On August 21, 1861, Brigadier General John B. Grayson was appointed to take charge of the Confederate forces in Middle and East Florida. After he arrived in Florida on September 13, he began the strengthening of the fortifications at the mouth of the St. Johns River. As Grayson became ill after he had been in

² Rerick, op. cit., p. 246.

³ Ibid., p. 262.

⁴ Ibid., p. 264.

Florida for a month, Brigadier General E. Kirby Smith was appointed to take his command. For some reason, however, this appointment was revoked and on October 22, Brigadier General James H. Trapier received the command.⁵ At this time only the Third and Fourth Florida Regiments and a few companies of cavalry remained in Florida, and these, which amounted to about a thousand men, were distributed from Fernandina to St. Augustine.

The Union forces by this time had made their headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, under the command of General T. W. Sherman. Sherman announced on February 23, 1862, that an expedition against Fernandina and Jacksonville would begin the following day under the command of General Horatio G. Wright. On March 3, Amelia Island was evacuated by the Confederate forces who left sixteen guns which were taken over by the Federal forces on the next day.

On March 8, a Union expedition set out from Fernandina for the St. Johns River. The object of this expedition, according to a letter from General Wright to General Sherman on March 7, was to destroy the batteries of the enemy, to take possession of guns, and to capture Jacksonville. Wright and the Flag Officer DuPont agreed that a permanent occupation of Jacksonville at that time would not be wise. "...While it may be desirous to land and occupy Jacksonville or other points for a few hours for

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Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 1.

purposes of reconnaissance or other necessary service, the troops shall be withdrawn and return to the gunboats when this shall be accomplished.⁶ Wright again stated this objective to Colonel T. J. Whipple, commander of the Fourth New Hampshire Regiment, in a communication to him on the same day. He said, "It is understood between the flag officer and myself that neither Jacksonville nor any other point on the river below is to be permanently occupied by our forces, but it may desirable to land at one or more points for reconnaissance."⁷ This objective is further stated in a report from General Sherman to the War Department on March 9 in which he said that the occupation of Jacksonville or any other town on the main would be unwise with their present forces unless "we are sure of being supported by a strong party of Unionists."⁸ On March 11, the Federal expedition entered the St. Johns and proceeded carefully up the river.

Reports that Jacksonville would be occupied by the Union forces reached the city early in March, 1862. Mayor H. H. Hoeg and the City Council met with General S. R. Pyles (C.S.A.) and his staff to determine what should be done in such a crisis.

⁶ Ibid., p. 239.

⁷ Ibid., p. 239.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 242-243.

They unanimously decided that as all the Confederate forces and fortifications were to be moved that it would be useless to attempt a defense of Jacksonville against the Federal forces; therefore, the city should be surrendered to the enemy. This decision was put into the form of a proclamation urging all citizens to surrender peaceably and to go about their usual vocations, for, if the enemy were met with no resistance, private property and unarmed citizens would be respected.⁹ Instead of accepting this proclamation in a calm manner, the people were panic-stricken. Then, when news reached Jacksonville that Fernandina had been occupied by Federal forces, the Southern sympathizers began to leave the city. Fear was heightened when the Jacksonville Light Infantry passed through the city from Fort Steele on its way to Baldwin, fourteen miles west, and a gunboat of six hundred tons under construction by the Confederates on stocks in East Jacksonville was burned by the soldiers. So great was the agitation that business along all lines was entirely suspended.¹⁰ The railroad to Lake City was loaded to its capacity carrying refugees from the city. The roads were crowded with vehicles of many descriptions loaded with possessions, women, children, servants who were trying to reach a point of

⁹ "To the Citizens of Jacksonville," Proclamation of Mayor H. H. Hoeg, March 7, 1862, reprinted in Davis, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

¹⁰ Davis, op. cit., p. 160.

safety.

On March 11, additional departures were made after reports that the town was to be burned by the Confederates.¹¹ At five o'clock, a battalion of 500 soldiers, under the command of Major Charles Hopkins, marched into town. The officers assured the people that private property would be respected, but that mills and the foundry would be destroyed. They began with the building next to the Judson House, then they destroyed the house and storehouse of Calvin L. Robinson, a prominent northerner. In the report of General Wright, U.S.A., to Headquarters on March 15, 1862, he gives the loss as "Seven sawmills, 4,000,000 feet of lumber, a large hotel, four or five private dwellings, the railroad depot, and a gunboat in the process of construction and nearly ready for launching..."¹² The only mill which was not destroyed was that belonging to Mr. Scott who raised the British flag when he saw the soldiers approaching. According to reports of some citizens¹³ and a New York news correspondent,¹⁴ the Judson House and private dwellings were not burned by the soldiers but by a group of refugees from Fernandina.

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Engate, op. cit., p. 17.

¹² Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 100.

¹³ Jacksonville Tri Weekly Sun, January 27, 1876.

¹⁴ New York Daily Tribune, March 24, 1862.

The city and county records were buried for safekeeping, but when they were recovered at the close of the war, they were illegible. ¹⁵

The Union sympathizers were elated over the prospect of the arrival of the Federal forces and a few of the property owners among the southerners decided that it would be safe for them to remain in the city and abide by the suggestions offered in Mayor Hoeg's proclamation.

On March 21, four Federal gunboats, the "Seneca," the "Pembina," the "Ottawa," the "Isaac Smith," and two transports anchored in the St. Johns River at the foot of Pine Street. Frederick Lueders, who was then the sheriff of the city, witnessed the arrival of the fleet, and gives a description of the capitulation of the town. As he feared bombardment of the town, he tied his handkerchief to a stick which he waved over his head until the commander of the fleet acknowledged it and came ashore. After the commander heard the circumstances of the city, he requested Lueders, as the sheriff, to go aboard and sign the surrender papers. While Lueders was signing the papers, he was told that the mission of the forces was one of peace. However, when the sheriff returned to shore, he found that troops had already been landed and pickets were out. ¹⁶

¹⁵Paul Brown, Book of Jacksonville (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1895), p. 96.

¹⁶Frederick Lueders, Industrial Record, July, 1907, quoted in Davis, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

Six companies of the Fourth New Hampshire Regiment under the command of Colonel T. J. Whipple occupied Jacksonville. The Confederate forces encamped near Baldwin made no attempt to contest the landing of the Federal forces. Captain Thomas A. Stevens, the Ranking Naval Officer, was in command until the arrival of General Horatio G. Wright on March 16.

The plan of the Federal forces, as has been previously stated, was to occupy Jacksonville for only a few hours for the purpose of reconnaissance, but this plan was abandoned when a paper, declaring allegiance to the Union, signed by thirty¹⁷ Union sympathizers was presented to the commanding officer. This incident, as described by a New York newspaper correspondent, was one of great solemnity. A delegation of citizens accompanied S. L. Burritt to the dock where they awaited his return displaying no feeling of any sort. After Burritt had stated his mission and presented the paper, Captain Stevens assured him that the occupation, under the circumstances, would be permanent. Those who had been silent for fear of reprisal by the Confederates were then more cordial in their reception.¹⁸

General Wright arrived on March 16 and in a letter to Headquarters he said, "The inhabitants of the town are represented

¹⁷ Gold, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁸ New York Daily Tribune, March 24, 1862.

¹⁹ Gold, op. cit., p. 132.

to have hailed with joy the arrival of our forces and their relief from the oppressive rule of the rebel authorities. At Jacksonville many of the inhabitants are still remaining, though considerable numbers had gone when our troops landed.²⁰ The New York newspaper correspondent stated that two-thirds of the inhabitants had left the city.

After communicating with General Wright, General T. W. Sherman, commander of the Union forces at Hilton Head, decided to go to Jacksonville in order to obtain a thorough understanding of the situation. He and his staff, accompanied by Colonel W. H. Russel of the London Times, arrived on the "Cosmopolitan," March 19. The next day he issued a proclamation "to the people of East Florida" recommending them to return to the allegiance of the United States and to organize a new local and state government.²¹ On the same day, a meeting of the "loyal" citizens was held at the courthouse at 10:30 o'clock. Calvin L. Robinson, chairman; C. L. Keene, secretary; and Colonel John S. Sammis, B. F. Halliday, Paran Moody, John W. Price, and Phillip Frazer composed a committee to draft the resolutions of the meeting. The committee composed the following resolutions:²²

We, the people of the city of Jacksonville

²⁰ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 100.

²¹ Ibid., p. 251.

²² Ibid., pp. 251-252.

and its vicinity, in the county of Duval, and the state of Florida, embraced within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States of America, do hereby set forth our declaration of rights and our solemn protest against the abrogation of the same by any pretended State or other authority.

First. We hold that government is a contract, in which protection is the price of allegiance; that when protection is denied, through weakness of design, allegiance is no longer due.

Second. We hold that an established form of government cannot be changed or abrogated except by the will of the people, intelligently and willingly expressed and fairly ratified.

Third. We hold that no state of the United States has any legal or constitutional right to separate itself from the government and jurisdiction of the United States.

Fourth. We hold that the act of the Convention of the State of Florida commonly known as the ordinance of secession, is void, being in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States, in never having been submitted to the people for ratification.

Fifth. We hold that the State of Florida is an integral part of the United States, subject to the constitutional jurisdiction of the same, and we have reason to believe that thousands of her citizens would hail with joy the restoration of the Government, bringing deliverance from the terrors of unrestrained popular and military despotism. We solemnly protest against all the acts and ordinances of the Convention of the State of Florida, which were designed to deprive us of our rights as citizens of the United States. We protest against the despotism fostered by the State and other authorities claiming jurisdiction over us, which has denied us the rights most dear to freemen--freedom of speech and a free press. We protest against the exactions which have been imposed upon us--forced contributions of money, property, and labor; enlistments for military service procured by threats and misrepresentations. We protest against the tyranny which demands of us a measure of revolutionary policy abandonment of our homes and property

and exposure of our wives and children to sickness, destitution, gaunt famine, innumerable and untold miseries and sorrows. We protest against that mad and barbarous policy which has punished us for remaining in our own homes by sending a brutal and unrestrained soldiery to pillage and burn our property, threaten and destroy our lives. We protest against the denunciation of the governor, who threatens to hang us because we do not tamely submit to such indignities and "lick the hand just raised to shed our blood." From such a despotism and from such dangers and indignities we have been released by the restoration of the Government of the United States, with the benign principles of the Constitution. The reign of terror is past. Law and order prevail in our midst.

It belongs now to the citizens of the State who hold to their allegiance to the United States to raise up a State government according to those provisions of the State which are not in conflict with or repugnant to the provisions of the United States:

Be it therefore resolved, That we adopt the foregoing protest and declaration of rights, and recommend that a convention of all loyal citizens be called forthwith, for the purpose of organizing a state government of the State of Florida.

Be it further resolved, That the chief of the military department of the United States be requested to retain at this place a sufficient force to maintain order and protect the people in their persons and property.

Philip Frazer, Chairman.

A true copy of the resolutions as passed at said meeting and adopted as their own act.

C. L. Robinson, Chairman.
C. L. Keene, Secretary 23

General Sherman commended these resolutions and said that the United States army had come to protect loyal citizens and their property from rebel authority. Notices were sent to St. Augustine, Fernandina, and other points which could be reached, urging the people to attend the adjourned meeting which would be held in Jacksonville on March 24. The Union sympathizers in Jacksonville believed that they had nothing to fear as they had the protection of the Union troops. So, on March 24, the second meeting was held with several out of town people present. According to the diary of Calvin L. Robinson,²⁴ chairman of the meeting, John W. Price, Pete Frazier, J. D. Mitchell, C. S. Emery, and J. Remington were appointed a committee which drew the following resolutions which were unanimously accepted:

WHEREAS, For the security and happiness of the people of the State of Florida it is necessary that a State Government be formed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Florida, as it existed previous to the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, therefore, Resolved: That in order to facilitate the formation of such a Government a convention of the people be called to meet at the city of Jacksonville on the 10th day of April, A.D., 1862, to establish a State Government, elect a governor, and other State officers, a Representative to Congress, or in their sovereign capacity to provide therefor as they shall deem best for their interest.
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That all the counties and precincts of the State which shall think

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Gold, op. cit., p. 135.

proper shall be requested to send delegates to said convention. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the counties of the St. Johns, Nassau, Putnam, Clay, Volusia, Orange and Brevard be especially requested to send delegates to said convention. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That under the benign influence of the Government of the United States as it now exists over us our property and lives are secure from the incendiary and assassin, and enjoy the protection and peace which are now ours. RESOLVED: That a copy of these resolutions be distributed throughout the State as extensively as possible. All of which has been respectfully submitted.

JOHN W. PRICE, Chairman

April 7, 1862, was the day selected for the election of delegates to the Jacksonville Convention. The Union leaders were looking forward to the erection of a Union State within the Confederacy. On the afternoon of that day, General Wright issued a notice that Jacksonville would be evacuated and the Union troops would be withdrawn to Hilton Head.²⁵ On the morning of April 8 Wright gave the order to evacuate, an order which spread fear among the Union sympathizers. These persons would be at the mercy of the Confederates whose leader had already issued a threatening proclamation against the leaders of the Union sympathizers. General Wright, realizing that as soon as the Union troops were withdrawn that conditions would be quite unbearable for the Unionists, offered to take all persons who wished to leave Jacksonville to a point of safety. The gunboats

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Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 130.

and transports, loaded with troops, refugees, and possessions, were ready to leave at 2:00 p.m., but a heavy wind delayed the departure until 6:00 a.m. the next day. The refugees were landed in Fernandina, assigned temporary homes in vacant houses, and given one ration each of provisions per day. The Union officers believed that the United States owed these citizens protection for their loyalty.

General Wright, in a report dated April 13, 1862, expresses deep regret for the withdrawal of troops from Jacksonville for a considerable number of the people had avowed themselves publicly in favor of the Union cause, and were encouraged by the proclamation of General Sherman in their efforts to set up a state and local government.

Northern friends of the refugees appealed to Congress for an explanation of the sudden evacuation of Jacksonville after protection and aid had been promised the citizens there. In reply to a resolution of the House of Representatives to the Secretary of War asking for the facts and circumstances of the evacuation, Edwin M. Stanton replied on April 28 saying that he was instructed by President Lincoln that Jacksonville was evacuated for "reasons which it is not deemed compatible with the public interest at present to disclose."²⁶ Thus, the first Federal occupation of Jacksonville ended.

²⁶

Ibid., p. 131.

The Union forces continued to occupy Fernandina at the time of the evacuation of their troops from Jacksonville. On April 8, 1862, General Trapier was removed by the Confederate War Department and Brigadier General Joseph Finegan was appointed the commander of the Florida troops. During the summer of 1862 the Confederates constructed fortifications at St. Johns Bluff and Yellow Bluff which were opposite each other on the St. Johns River below Jacksonville. From here, Confederate batteries kept the Union gunboats from coming up the river.

The Union commander of the Department of the South learned of the fortification at St. Johns Bluff so he sent General J. M. Brannan with a force²⁷ of 1,573 men²⁸ to destroy these batteries. The expedition left Hilton Head on September 30 on the transports "Ben de Ford," "Boston," "Cosmopolitan," and "Neptune." This expedition was joined by the Federal gunboats, "Paul Jones," "Cimarron," "Water Witch," "Hale," "Uncas," and "Patroon." Three gunboats proceeded up the river to investigate but they were fired upon from St. Johns Bluff. General Brannan, with great difficulty because of swampy ground, established a position on Mount Pleasant Creek. Believing the Confederate forces to number 1,200 men, Brannan called for the Ninth Regiment Maine Volunteers, numbering about 300 men, to reinforce him from

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This included the Forty-seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Seventh Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, a section of First Connecticut Light Battery, a detachment of First Massachusetts Cavalry.

²⁸ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 129.

Fernandina.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles P. Hopkins had been left in command of the Confederate force at St. Johns Bluff. When he learned that a landing was being made, he called for reinforcements from Yellow Bluff across the river, and these additional men brought the total force to five hundred. Seven Union gun-boats and three transports were getting ready to land forces as they were unable to take the Bluff by sea, and the artillery for which Hopkins had asked had not arrived. After consulting with his officers, Hopkins decided that he could not hold the Bluff against so large a force. Finegan criticized Hopkins for his evacuation and called for an investigation of this action.²⁹ A trial was held and Hopkins proved that what he had done was "wholly justifiable."³⁰

On October 3, Brannan again sent three gunboats to the Bluff, but this time there was no firing. Upon closer investigation, the Union forces found that St. Johns Bluff had been hastily abandoned. The next day was spent in dismounting the guns, loading ammunition, and blowing up magazines.

In the meanwhile, Captain Steedman, commanding officer of the Union naval forces, had proceeded to Jacksonville to destroy all boats and to intercept the passage of the rebels across the

²⁹ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIV, p. 137.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 138.

river.

General Brannan proceeded up the St. Johns River on October 5 aboard the "Ben de Ford" with 785 infantry, and on that afternoon, Jacksonville was occupied the second time by the Federal forces. The troops were landed and the next morning the "Darlington" was sent to look for a Confederate steamer which was reported to be secreted in a creek. This expedition returned on the 9th with the steamer "Governor Milton" which had been discovered in a small creek near Enterprise.³¹ Brannan in a report to Headquarters said, "Jacksonville I found to be nearly deserted, there being only a small portion of its inhabitants left--chiefly old men, women, and children. On our first arrival some few rebel cavalry were hovering around the town, but they immediately retired on my establishing a picket line. From this town and its neighborhood I bring with me several refugees and about 276 contrabands, including men, women and children."³²

After four days of occupation Jacksonville was evacuated by the Federal forces for the second time.

Until March, 1863, there were no important activities in the vicinity of Jacksonville. However, a letter from Brigadier General R. Saxton to the United States Secretary of War on March

³¹

Ibid., p. 137.

³²

Ibid., p. 131.

6 reopened the possibilities for a third Federal occupation of Jacksonville. "I have reliable information," he said, "that there are large numbers of able bodied Negroes in that vicinity who are watching for an opportunity to join us. The Negroes from Florida are far more intelligent than any I have yet seen, fully understand their position and intentions of the government toward them. They will fight with as much desperation as any people in the world."³³ On March 10, 1863, Jacksonville was occupied by the First Regiment South Carolina Volunteers (Negro) under the command of Colonel T. W. Higginson, and a part of the Second Regiment South Carolina Volunteers (Negro) under Colonel James Montgomery. Jacksonville had been selected as the base for the arming of the Negroes. As soon as Colonel Finegan heard that Negro troops were being landed, he issued a proclamation to the people of Florida informing them of the situation and calling for volunteers. The southern people were infuriated by this raid of colored troops.³⁴

For the first time in their three occupations of Jacksonville, the Federal forces began to fortify the town as though they intended to remain. The natural defenses of Jacksonville provided adequate fortifications except at one point, the terminus of the railroad. Here two forts were erected by the Negro troops and named for Higginson and Montgomery. According to Finegan,

³³ Ibid., p. 423.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 226.

the Union forces "cut down all the trees" for barricades and abatis and "burned the houses from the river out beyond the suburbs of the town."³⁵ Field pieces were placed all over the streets and five gunboats with long range guns protected the front and sides of the city.

At the request of the Confederate forces, all women and children, except five or six families, were removed, under Higginson's permission, to Lake City by a Confederate escort under a flag of truce.³⁶

Skirmishing had begun on the day that the Union forces landed and continued until Jacksonville was again evacuated. The Confederates made no general attack upon the town because General Finegan could get neither reinforcements nor supplies. His whole force, which had been collected from points which were being guarded so that Negroes could not escape to the Union lines, numbered less than a thousand men.³⁷ Then, too, the natural position of Jacksonville gave the Union forces an advantage over the smaller Confederate force. "The town rose gradually from the river and was bounded on the rear by a long, sluggish creek beyond which lay a stretch of woods, affording an excellent covert for the enemy, but without great facilities for attack,

35

Ibid., p. 227.

36

Ibid., p. 239.

37

Ibid., p. 227.

as there were but two or three fords and bridges. This brook could easily be held against a small force but could at any time be crossed by a large one.³⁸

On March 22 and 23, two white regiments, the Eighth Maine under Colonel J. D. Rust and the Sixth Connecticut under Colonel J. L. Chatfield, were sent by General Hunter in answer to requests made to him by several loyal men of much influence in Florida.³⁹ On their arrival, Colonel Rust became the commanding officer and he reported that there was a Confederate battery mounted on a locomotive throwing shells upon the town.⁴⁰ Their arrival, however, put a stop to an attack by the Confederates that night. This locomotive battery which consisted of a rifled 32 pound cannon mounted on a flat car coupled to an engine was an invention of Lieutenant Thomas E. Buckman, and it is said to have been the first armored railway train in history.⁴¹ On the next night the locomotive battery returned to a point one and a half miles from town and shelled several buildings but injured none.⁴²

The next morning Colonel Higginson, taking five companies

³⁸ T. W. Higginson, The Reoccupation of Jacksonville in 1863, Civil War Papers, Commandery of Massachusetts, 1900, p. 106.

³⁹ New York Tribune, March 20, 1863.

⁴⁰ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIV, p. 232.

⁴¹ Ibid., op. cit., p. 326.

⁴² Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIV, p. 233.

of the Eighth Maine, four companies of the Sixth Connecticut, and a few Negroes, advanced up the railroad for about three miles when the Confederate pickets reported the approach. The locomotive gun, supported by the infantry and cavalry on the left and by the main body of troops on the right, was then sent down the railroad track where they opened fire upon the enemy who hastily retired after two privates in the Eighth Maine were killed and several wounded.

On the night of the 26th, Colonel Rust sent a force to destroy the railroad track but again, Buckman with the help of Private Francis Soule drove the Federals into town with his locomotive gun.

The next night, Lieutenant O. F. Braddock, a Confederate officer who was bringing the wives and children of the men in service across the St. Johns, after having crossed and loaded them on wagons, was captured by the Union forces along with fifteen men, two wagons, and eight mules. The wagons were burned and the mules were recovered, but the women and children were carried off.⁴³ Previously, Finegan had stated in a letter to the chief of staff that "the federal forces were taking all male citizens in Jacksonville who will not take the oath of allegiance and holding them as hostages for their Negro troops. They are robbing and plundering..."⁴⁴

⁴³ Ibid., p. 236.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 837.

Again, indignation both in Hilton Head and Jacksonville was expressed when the order to evacuate Jacksonville came. Forces were withdrawn on March 31 in compliance with the orders. During the embarkation the town was set on fire which destroyed much of the town including the St. Johns Episcopal Church, the Catholic church, and the courthouse. When General Pinegan discovered that the town was on fire and that the troops were embarking, he came into the city and succeeded in extinguishing some of the fires.⁴⁵ Colonel Rust in his report said, "While evacuation was taking place several fires were lit, a portion of them undoubtedly by secessionists; these fires were not confined to lines of any regiment. Perhaps twenty-five buildings were destroyed. Many Union families came away with us."⁴⁶ The newspaper correspondent who accompanied the transports to Jacksonville when he heard that it would be evacuated said that the Negro troops had nothing to do with the firing of the city. He said that the two white regiments hurled charges of guilt at each other. T. Frederick Davis, basing his story upon the conversations with Union officers who came to Jacksonville after the war, states that the burning of the town resulted from the hatred between one regiment which was Roman Catholic and the other which was Protestant. This dislike was so intense that

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Ibid., p. 234.

⁴⁶

Ibid., p. 233.

vandals in the Protestant regiment plundered and burned the little Catholic church, and in retaliation, the Catholic regiment set fire to the St. Johns church. From this other buildings caught and the fire spread rapidly through the town.⁴⁷ On March 30, 1863, General G. T. Beauregard wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War, "I call specially the attention of the Government to the wanton destruction of private property in Jacksonville."⁴⁸

Evidently the third occupation of Jacksonville was a success from the viewpoint of the Union for Major General Hunter received a letter of congratulation from Abraham Lincoln commanding the accounts of the colored forces in Jacksonville.⁴⁹

The fourth and final occupation of Jacksonville occurred in the early part of 1864. In a letter written to Major General Q. A. Gillmore, Union commander of the South, President Lincoln said, "I understand that an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida.... I have given Mr. May a commission of Major and sent him to you with blank books and other blanks to aid in reconstruction."⁵⁰

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Davis, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

⁴⁸

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIV, p. 850.

⁴⁹

Ibid., p. 435.

⁵⁰

Ibid., Series I, Vol. XXXIV, p. 276.

On January 14, Gillmore wrote to the general-in-chief saying that he contemplated the occupation of Florida on the west coast of the St. Johns River, and the next day he notified the War Department of his intention. The War Department replied that as a military occupation it would be of little importance but as an outlet for cotton and as a recruiting station of Negro troops, the occupation would justify the expense; however, such an expedition would be left to Gillmore's judgment.⁵¹ As Gillmore had not clearly stated his objects to the War Department, he wrote another letter on January 31 in which he stated the objects of occupation as (1) to procure an outlet for cotton, turpentine, lumber, timber and other products of the state, (2) to cut off one of the enemy's sources of commissary supplies by preventing the connection of the railroad from Jacksonville to Tallahassee with Thomasville, (3) to obtain recruits for colored regiments, (4) to inaugurate measures for speedy restoration of Florida to her allegiance, in accordance with the instructions received from President Lincoln.⁵²

Brigadier General T. Seymour, commanding the forces,⁵³ left

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 279.

⁵² Ibid., p. 279.

⁵³ Seventh Connecticut Regiment Volunteers, Seventh New Hampshire Regiment Volunteers, Eighth Regiment U. S. Volunteers Colored Troops, Second South Carolina Volunteers colored, Third U.S. Volunteers colored, Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, colored, Fortieth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers Infantry, Independent Battalion Massachusetts Cavalry, Langdon's light battery of four pieces, Elder's horse light battery of four pieces, and one section of James' Rhode Island Battery of two pieces.

for Jacksonville on February 5.⁵⁴ On the afternoon of the seventh, Jacksonville was again occupied by Federal forces. On their arrival, there were about twenty Confederate pickets in town. These men fired upon the transport "Hunter" and killed one man. When the Confederate forces heard of the arrival of the Federals, they burned the steamer "St. Mary's" and 270 bales of cotton.⁵⁵

Upon landing, Captain Guy Henry and Major Stevens pushed into the interior for purposes of reconnaissance. Coming upon the enemy camp about three miles to the rear of the town, they surprised them and captured a battery.⁵⁶

Major John Hay, upon arriving in Jacksonville, posted proclamations concerning the oath of allegiance to the United States. On February 11, he received permission to go to the guardhouse where he talked and discussed the proclamation with the prisoners.⁵⁷ If a prisoner took the oath of allegiance, he was released; if he refused, he was sent north as a prisoner of war.⁵⁸ The first few days' operation in Jacksonville were

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Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXV, p. 280.

⁵⁵

Ibid., p. 281.

⁵⁶

Ibid., p. 281.

⁵⁷ Tyler Dennett, Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay (New York, 1939), p. 159.

⁵⁸

Ibid., p. 160.

successful according to Mr. May. "I enrolled in all 60 names--some of them men of substance and influence."⁵⁹ About fifty per cent of the prisoners of war seemed to be eager to desert the Confederate cause. This and the fact that the citizens, too, were eager to take the oath was due largely to their weariness of the war and not to changes in political beliefs.⁶⁰

In the meanwhile General Finegan and his forces fell back to Baldwin as the Union forces advanced. In reply to his request for reinforcements for Finegan, Governor Milton was informed by General Beauregard that all available troops in South Carolina and Georgia were being rushed to General Finegan and that he, himself, would join the forces there.⁶¹

As Finegan fell back toward Lake City, the Federal forces occupied and fortified Baldwin. Telegraph communication was established between Baldwin and Jacksonville so that General Gillmore could issue orders to General Seymour from Jacksonville. The Union troops pushed on to Barber's Plantation on the South Fork of the St. Mary's River where they met Major Robert Harris with two companies of the Second Florida Cavalry.

General Gillmore ordered Seymour to fall back to Baldwin

⁵⁹

Dennett, op. cit., p. 161.

⁶⁰

Ibid., p. 162.

⁶¹

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXV, p. 326.

on February 12 and to command from that point. He was also told to call in Captain Henry.⁶² The next day Seymour, leaving the forces in Baldwin, came to Jacksonville for personal instructions from Gillmore. An arrangement was made with Seymour and Captain Reese of the Engineers to construct defenses at Jacksonville, Baldwin, and the South Fork of the St. Mary's River. Then Seymour was told that he was to make no advances until he received instructions from General Gillmore who left for Hilton Head on February 15. General Gillmore's plans for the fortifications were revealed in a letter that he wrote to the general-in-chief on February 13:⁶³

I intend to construct small works capable of resisting coup de main at Jacksonville, Baldwin, and Palatka and perhaps one or two important points so strong that 200 or 300 men will be sufficient. Twenty-five hundred men, in addition to the two regiments that have been permanently stationed in the State, ought to be ample in Florida. The artillery captured here will suffice for such defensive works as may be deemed necessary. I desire to see the lumber and turpentine trade on the Saint John's revived by our loyal men, and for that purpose, and to give assurance that our occupation of this river is intended to be permanent, I have written to the Secretary of the Treasury recommending that the port of Jacksonville be declared open.

Ignoring Gillmore's orders not to advance until he gave

⁶²

Ibid., p. 283.

⁶³

Ibid., p. 277.

the order, Seymour set out on the 17th for the purpose of destroying a railroad on the Suwanee River, about one hundred miles away. On the way the Union forces met the Confederate troops who were encamped a few miles from Lake City. Here, at Olustee or Ocean Pond, was fought the bloodiest battle of the whole war.⁶⁴ General Seymour was decisively defeated by Generals Joseph Finegan and A. H. Colquitt.⁶⁵ The killed, wounded, and missing Union soldiers numbered 1,861; the Confederates reported a total of 946, of which number only 93 were killed.⁶⁶⁶⁷

Thus, two of the objects of the expedition, namely, to cut off the enemy's supplies by preventing the connection of the railroads and to restore Florida to her allegiance, were annulled by the defeat at Olustee.

After its defeat, the Union army fell back to Jacksonville where stronger fortifications were made and the force increased to about 12,000 men with plenty of equipment.⁶⁸ The Confederate forces, by the 26th, occupied a position on the McGirt's Creek at a point where the wagon road and the railroad crossed the

⁶⁴

Gold, op. cit., p. 142.

⁶⁵ See Charles C. Jones, Battle of Ocean Pond (Augusta, Georgia, 1868).

⁶⁶ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXV, p. 298.

⁶⁷

Ibid., p. 337.

⁶⁸

Ibid., p. 368.

creek. Here, breastworks and stockades were constructed under the supervision of General Beauregard who was commanding the troops until the arrival of Major General Patton Anderson, the successor to General Finegan. The camp was named in honor of the Governor of Florida, and on March 3, General Anderson took charge.

On March 1, Henry with five hundred cavalry and two pieces of artillery set out from the Union camp to reconnoiter in the direction of Camp Milton. About a mile from Pickett, they met one hundred Confederate cavalry and two pieces of artillery. The Confederates drove the Union forces back to Three Mile Run where Union reinforcements arrived. Fighting continued until the arrival of Confederate reinforcements who drove the Federals into shelter.⁶⁹

Both General Anderson and General A. H. Colquitt reported that the capture of Jacksonville by the Confederates would be inexpedient to them at this time as it could not be held against the Union gunboats.⁷⁰ The Union forces were much better equipped for water transportation. Taking advantage of this condition, the Federals moved up the river and established a post at Palatka, and at the same time captured the "Sumpter" and the

⁶⁹

Ibid., p. 363.

⁷⁰

Ibid., Series II, Vol. XXXV, p. 335.

"Hattie Brock," small steamers of great value to the Confederates.⁷¹

During the month of March, the Union forces also held St. Augustine, the eastern side of the St. Johns, and the northern side of the river below Jacksonville. A strong battery and signal tower had been built at Yellow Bluff.

Communication between the Union posts and the base at Jacksonville went on for a time almost uninterrupted, but during the latter part of March a large number of torpedoes were planted in the river about fifteen miles below Jacksonville by Captain E. P. Bryan and communication with Palatka was made precarious.⁷²

The Confederates were greatly encouraged by the fact that on the morning of April 1, one of the largest Union transports "Maple Leaf" struck a torpedo and sank in seven minutes.⁷³ The vessel was then boarded and burned to the water level. Scouts at the mouth of the river reported on April 3 that seven Union vessels crowded with troops, horses, mules, and supplies arrived at the bar. When General Anderson received this information, he recalled General Finegan. On April 12, the Union forces were

⁷¹

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pp. 374-375.

⁷²

Ibid., p. 369.

⁷³

Ibid., p. 370.

withdrawn from Palatka and sent to Picolata, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville. On April 13, Anderson reported to General Beauregard that there were 15,000 Union forces in Jacksonville.⁷⁴

The torpedoes continued to take toll of the Union gunboats. On April 16, the "Hunter," returning from Picolata with supplies, was sunk near the wreck of the "Maple Leaf."⁷⁵ On May 9, the "Harriet A. Weed" was destroyed at the same place with the loss of five men.⁷⁶ Within forty days three vessels had been destroyed by the torpedoes. The "Colombine" was captured and burned by Captain J. J. Dickison at Horse Landing, taking 64 men and killing 26 without a single loss to the Confederates.⁷⁷

Beginning with April 8 and continuing until about May 15, transports loaded with Union troops left Jacksonville almost daily.⁷⁸ The Union forces were finally reduced to about 2,500 or 3,000 men, mostly colored troops who occupied Jacksonville. The Confederate forces began to leave on April 14 and by the end of May only one regiment, two battalions of cavalry, and three companies of artillery remained in East Florida.

⁷⁴

Ibid., p. 369.

⁷⁵

Ibid., p. 387.

⁷⁶

Ibid., p. 392.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 393; Elizabeth Dickison, Dickison and His Men (Louisville, 1890), pp. 65-66.

⁷⁸ Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pp. 371-372.

On the night of May 21, a Union force of 2,459 troops, advancing in two columns, attacked Camp Milton. General George H. Gordon stated that he destroyed the camp and returned to Jacksonville. ⁷⁹ Patton Anderson, however, stated in his report that the Confederate forces were driven back to Baldwin and that on June 2 he advanced and drove the enemy back into the city. ⁸⁰

The small cavalry of the Confederates continued to skirmish, to attack outposts and pickets, and to disrupt navigation in the river in such a manner that the following letter was sent to the commander of the Union forces at Jacksonville:

I am instructed by the major-general commanding to inform you that the number of troops now in your command is considerably larger than that section demands in a military point of view. If you cannot guard the St. Johns River you must prepare to make St. Augustine your base, keeping Jacksonville and Picolata as advanced posts, if practicable. In case of immediate danger of the St. Johns River being rendered impracticable for navigation by reason of the enemy gaining possession of points along the banks or by reason of their planting a great number of torpedoes in the river, the communication from Jacksonville to St. Augustine must be by ferry across the river which you must provide in season, and by land across the country. ⁸¹

The war during the last part of July consisted of skirmishing near Trout Creek, Baldwin, and Camp Milton. On the 26th the

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 401.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 403.

⁸¹ Ibid., Series II, Vol. XXXV, p. 177.

last of the Confederate troops evacuated Camp Milton. Thus, the formal armed opposition in the vicinity of Jacksonville ended.

General J. P. Hatch, replacing the Union commander, William Birney, reported on August 9 that over 700 refugees had come to Jacksonville from the interior and taken the oath of allegiance,⁸² but he does not state whether these were white or colored. Jacksonville continued to be the Union Headquarters for the District of Florida with the commander occupying Colonel Sander-
son's home, "The Columns," on Forsyth and Ocean streets.

During the year 1864 the question of Florida's return to the Union was revived although nothing came of it other than the calling of a convention which was held in May, 1864, for the purpose of the selection of delegates to attend the Republi-
can National Convention in Baltimore. Of the six delegates from East Florida, three of these, Paran Moody, John Sammis, and John W. Price, were from Jacksonville. The facts that President Lincoln suggested the expedition to Florida to General Gillmore rather than to the War Department and that he sent Major Hay to Jacksonville as his personal representative to bring about "loyal political reconstruction" in Florida are evidences that the fourth occupation of Jacksonville was a political move on the part of Mr. Lincoln in his campaign for re-election.

As the news of General Lee's surrender spread quickly through the state, soon the families who had fled to the interior for the duration of the war started back to the devastated city.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JACKSONVILLE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

When the war ended, Jacksonville was in ruins. Nearly everything that had been of value before the war had been destroyed during the conflict.¹ In August, 1865, the garrison in Jacksonville consisted of one battalion of Negro troops who encamped on what is now Ashley Street. They were officered by white men and, according to reports, were quite orderly.² Tenney says that there were hundreds of Negroes camped in the open air near the city limits.³ Evidently these were the freed Negroes who congregated near the military forces in order to get food. Tenney describes the white people as being "forlorn and despondent." The whole scene was one of desolation and sorrow.⁴

The return of many of the former Union sympathizers made

¹

Tenney, op. cit.

²

Gold, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

³

Tenney, op. cit.

⁴

Ibid.

the political conditions more bearable in Jacksonville than in other sections under reconstruction government.⁵ President Johnson had appointed William Marvin as the provincial governor of Florida until an election could be held. Mr. Marvin and his advisers arrived in Jacksonville on August 2, 1865, where they were received with a hearty welcome.⁶ He was treated with the utmost respect by the citizens who gathered to hear his public address. His speech, in which he set forth the President's policy as he understood it, was delivered with much tact.⁷ The success of his reception was due largely to Calvin L. Robinson, a Union sympathizer who had been mentioned as a possible candidate for provisional governor.⁸

Upon the creation of the Freedman's Bureau in 1865, Colonel Thomas W. Osborne was appointed as head of the organization in Florida. When he visited Jacksonville in 1866, he arranged for the issuing of rations and the establishment of schools, churches, and hospitals. However, the system which was intended to find employment for Negroes created an idea in their minds that they were to become wealthy land owners without an effort, thus encouraging idleness. In addition, Osborne developed the Bureau

⁵ Gold, op. cit., p. 155.

⁶ New York Tribune, August 8, 1865.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Gold, op. cit., p. 155.

into a political machine by the organization of a secret society called the "Lincoln Brotherhood," the oath of which required that a member could not vote for a candidate for office who was not affiliated with the society.⁹ As a result, he secured the election as United States Senator from Florida in 1868.

The Legislature of 1866 was composed of white men as at that time the Negro had not been given the right to vote even though Florida had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. Florida had not yet been received into statehood, martial law still existed, and its Senators and Representatives were refused seats in Congress. Under the Reconstruction Act of 1867, Florida was included in the list of rebel states having no government except military authority. She was required to form a new constitution which had to meet the approval of Congress and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment which enfranchised the Negro. Under this act, Colonel John T. Sprague was placed in charge of the District of Florida with his headquarters first at Tallahassee, later at Jacksonville. Colonel Sprague was well received at Jacksonville because he had spent some time in the town during the Seminole War¹⁰ and knew many of the citizens. Then, too, he was a "gentleman of pleasant manners and of conservative views."¹¹

⁹ John Wallace, Carpet Bag Rule in Florida (Jacksonville, 1888), p. 65.

¹⁰ Berick, op. cit., I, p. 302.

¹¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 195.

Immediately there arose a band of politicians eager to get control of the Negro and his new ballot. Ossian B. Hart, who had been made superintendent of registration, and Harrison B. Reed, who later became governor, organized the Republican Club of Jacksonville in 1867.¹² This club became the leading of three Republican factions which contended for years for political mastery. Hart and Reed's faction was regarded as the most conservative, Osborne's Freedman's Bureau the next, and the group under the leadership of a Negro, Colonel Liberty Billings, the most radical. The Republican constitutional convention was held in Jacksonville with the delegates being colored men and white men of recent arrival.¹³ There was a registration of 11,148 whites and 15,434 colored men¹⁴ but at the November election there were only 14,503 votes polled, the majority being votes of Negroes.¹⁵ When the Constitutional Convention met on January 20, 1868, seventeen of the forty-six delegates were Negroes.¹⁶ The convention had a stormy session, split into two parts, and held separate sessions, but finally united under the leadership of General Meade, Federal military commander, and

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Gold, op. cit., p. 157.

¹³ Berick, op. cit., I, p. 303.

¹⁴ Ibid., I, p. 303.

¹⁵ Gold, op. cit., p. 158.

¹⁶ Berick, op. cit., I, p. 303.

adopted a state constitution.¹⁷

In 1868 under the new reconstruction law, elections were held, military rule ceased, and the city became civilian in all departments. A new charter provided that the city officials should receive salaries. The election day was one of confusion and riot but when the votes were counted, Colonel Edward Hopkins, a former Confederate leader, was elected mayor.

While political reconstruction was going on, there was a definite advancement made along educational lines. Marked progress in the education of both whites and Negroes was made. In 1864, before the families moved back to the city, Mrs. J. M. Hawks opened the first free public school in the state, attended by both white and colored children¹⁸ and aided by northern influence.¹⁹ By 1866 Jacksonville had three Negro schools, four teachers and over five hundred pupils.²⁰ The Stanton Institute for Negroes was built on the site of the school erected by the Freedman's Bureau in 1866 but which had burned.²¹ The Cookman Institute which trained Negroes for preaching and teaching was established by the Freemen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was located on the corner of Hogan and

¹⁷ Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 304.

¹⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 416.

¹⁹ Gold, op. cit., p. 165.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

²¹ Egate, op. cit., p. 68.

Beaver streets.²² The constitution of 1866 authorized the Legislature to organize a school system for both races, and provided for a State Superintendent of Schools. This same bill made each county a school district over which the county board of public instruction and the county superintendent presided.²³ The State and County superintendents were appointed by the leaders of the state government. As a result, men were usually chosen for their party affiliation rather than for their fitness for office.²⁴ The reports and records during this time were either destroyed or padded so it is difficult to determine just what was done along educational lines.²⁵ The people of Jacksonville opposed the additional school tax of three to five mills which had been levied, as approximately eighty per cent of it was used for the support of Negro schools.²⁶ During this period there was one small school built on Liberty and Church streets and called "Duval Graded and High School" although the courses were all elementary. This school later became the Jacksonville Grammar School.²⁷

A group of Catholic sisters were sent by Bishop P. Verot

²² Zagate, op. cit., p. 68.

²³ Gold, op. cit., p. 165.

²⁴ T. E. Cochran, History of Public Education in Florida, Bulletin I, p. 46.

²⁵ Davis, op. cit., p. 417.

²⁶ Cochran, op. cit., p. 57.

²⁷ Davis, op. cit., p. 417.

to Jacksonville for the organization of a convent and school in 1869. Buildings were erected upon a lot at the corner of Duval and Pine streets and named St. Joseph's Convent and Academy. The school was so well patronized it became necessary to enlarge the buildings and grounds.²⁸

In contrast, there seemed to be a definite retardation of progress along religious lines. Political public opinion was reflected in religious disagreements. In 1867 there was a distinct division in the Ocean Street Presbyterian Church, one factor preferring to go back to the Old School Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the other to adhere to the Southern General Assembly. The latter withdrew and with the help of Rev. W. B. Telford formed the new church which met in the St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, South, until a hall was rented in 1869. In this year Rev. Thomas L. DeVeaux came from Madison, Florida, to take charge of the church.²⁹

There was also a division in the St. Paul's Methodist Church following the war. In the case of the Presbyterians, the southern group withdrew leaving the original property to the northerners, but in the case of the Methodists, the northern group withdrew leaving the original property to the southerners.

²⁸

Esgate, op. cit., p. 66.

²⁹

Ibid., p. 77.

As the withdrawing faction was not financially able to build a church until 1870, they worshipped with the northern Presbyterians. Bishop James organized the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church in 1870 and promised financial aid from the Methodist Church extension funds to purchase a lot if the church members would supply the building. Calvin L. Robinson, an active Unionist during the war, donated \$400 toward the purchase of a \$5400 lot on Monroe Street facing St. James Park. A church of two stories with a chapel below and a parsonage above was erected under the direction of Rev. S. S. Swaine and the first service was held in the autumn of 1871.³⁰

Although the differences in political beliefs were reflected in the religious life of the people, there seems to be no effect of these disagreements upon the industrial life of the city. For the first few months after the war, not much was done to revive former conditions, but in the fall improvements and repairs commenced.³¹

It was then that Jacksonville began a new career. The town received its incentive from the fact that it was the terminus of the only surviving railroad in the state. Commodities from the interior began to pass through Jacksonville. During

³⁰

Zagate, op. cit., p. 71.

³¹

Davis, op. cit., p. 194.

this period, a newspaper man stated that every train that came in was heavily loaded with a good grade of cotton,³² which was selling for a dollar a pound.³³ More cotton came through Jacksonville than anyone had supposed survived the flames of war.³⁴ The piers were lined with business as Jacksonville was the gateway in and out of the state. A steamship line was established from New York and the International Ocean Telegraph Company extended its lines to Jacksonville.

Most of the old residents had returned and resumed business by 1867. New mills and wharves were erected and steamship lines were re-established. A continuous row of low wooden buildings was put up on the north side of Bay Street running west from Julia, and was occupied as stores and shops.³⁵

The city's career was furthered by the arrival of tourista who came to Florida after hearing of the wonderful climate in the state from the Union soldiers. Many residents opened their homes as boarding houses to the tourista. One man remarked, "We found on our arrival every dwelling house filled with consumptives from the north in search of health."³⁶ These tourista made trade

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New York Tribune, August 8, 1865.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 155.

³⁴

New York Tribune, op. cit.

³⁵

Davis, op. cit., p. 195.

³⁶

My Robinson, Story of Post Bellum Jacksonville in a Nutshell (n.p., n.d.).

quite active. Calvin Oak, undertaker, too, became rich enough to build the only brick dwelling in the city. Spending was also aided by the Federal soldiers who bought lavishly.

As the tourist trade increased and accommodations became scarce, the St. James Hotel was built by the Jacksonville Hotel Company in January 1866. Many writers referred to it as the "Fifth Avenue Hotel" of Florida. Occupying a whole block bounded by Duval, Laura, Hogan, and Church streets, the hotel could accommodate five hundred guests. The building, described in 1865, was equipped with "elevators, gas, electric lights, electric bells, telegraph office, telephone connections with all railroad and steamboat offices, a ticket office, elegant parlors and dining-room, rooms en suite, with private and public baths, steam laundry, apparatus for steam heating, billiard parlors, excellent livery, and all other attractions..."³⁷ By the energy and business capacity of its manager, Mr. Jeremiah Campbell, the St. James Hotel was well known in both Europe and America.

Other new buildings were constructed for the St. Marks Hotel, a three story brick structure on Newnan Street, the Tremont House, on Pine and Forsyth streets,³⁸ the Mattair House, on West Forsyth,³⁹ the Grand National, on Bay and Julia streets,⁴⁰

³⁷

Eggle, op. cit., p. 52.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁰ Gold, op. cit., p. 162.

the Windsor Hotel, on Hogan Street,⁴¹ the Nichols Hotel, on Hogan and Forsyth streets.⁴² A new depot was also built at this time.⁴³

The cornerstone for the new St. Johns Episcopal Church was laid on April 7, 1874 under the pastorsehip of the Rev. R. H. Bours, and the building was completed in time for the Easter Service, 1877.⁴⁴

The prosperity of the town was greatly increased by the purchase of five hundred acres of land, west of the town, and known as the old Miles Price Plantation.⁴⁵ John M. Forbes of Boston⁴⁶ paid \$12,000 in gold for the land, and with E. M. Cheney plotted and developed it. The Forbes Purchase was considered a remarkable event and caused a boom in real estate.⁴⁷ Lots that sold for one hundred dollars one day increased to two hundred dollars the next day. This purchase was probably the first modern real estate development in Duval County. This

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Esigate, op. cit., p. 55.

⁴² Gold, op. cit., p. 162.

⁴³ Davis, op. cit., p. 152.

⁴⁴ Esigate, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴⁵ Robinson, op. cit.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Gold, op. cit., p. 159.

⁴⁸ Robinson, op. cit.

suburb was known as Riverside. West of Jacksonville and immediately adjoining, was La Villa, an incorporated town of several hundred inhabitants. They had a charter and city officials, even though it was considered a suburb of Jacksonville.⁴⁹ Brooklyn was a thriving settlement lying between the St. Johns and McCoys Creek, and extending to the northeastern boundary of Riverside. The region along the west bank of the St. Johns, east of Jacksonville, was known as Wyoming. The population was small, being confined, mainly, to residences along the river front.⁵⁰

Prosperity was increased further by the establishment of banks in the city. The first modern banking house⁵¹ was established by Daniel G. Ambler in 1870.⁵² It was started as a private institution known as Ambler Bank.⁵³ As it was conducted along conservative lines, this bank was one of the few in the southeast which did not suspend payment during the panic of 1873. The next year it was reorganized under the name of Ambler National Bank.⁵⁴ Twelve years later John N. C. Stockton and

⁴⁹ Hawks, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 53.

⁵² Lagate, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵³ Gold, op. cit., pp. 365-367.

⁵⁴ Davis, op. cit., p. 478.

John L. Marvin became partners with Mr. Ambler in this banking business which was afterwards conducted under the name of Ambler, Marvin, and Stockton.⁵⁵

The financial panic that swept the country in 1873 was felt in Jacksonville mostly in the lumber business. Although the mills did not close, the output was reduced.⁵⁶ The Freedman's Bank, which had been established in 1865, was not able to remain open after 1874. However, two new banks were established soon after the panic, one was the Florida Savings Bank organized by J. C. Greeley, and the other was the First National Bank organized by J. M. Schumacher.⁵⁷

Another evidence of expansion and prosperity in this period was the founding in 1873 of the St. Luke's Hospital. For many years it had been evident that Jacksonville needed a hospital but nothing had been done about it. Several prominent ladies realizing the need of such an institution formed the Ladies Benevolent Society,⁵⁸ and as a result of this organization's efforts, the St. Luke's Hospital was opened in March. The proceeds for the hospital were raised by the means of fairs⁵⁹

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Gold, op. cit., p. 365.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 154.

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P. S. Brown, The Book of Jacksonville (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1895), p. 110.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 424.

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Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Union, October 21, 1873.

which were held often. During these fairs, the ladies published a newspaper which sold for ten cents a copy.⁶⁰ Many obstacles had to be overcome, however, before the hospital was a reality. After they had bought the northeast corner of Market and Ashley streets, the building fund was started. They had obtained \$687 when the Freedman's Bank, in which the money was deposited, failed.⁶¹ Almost two years later they began again, only this time, the building, almost completed, was burned to the ground.⁶² Fortunately, the building was insured for \$6,000 and the ladies sold the lot on Market and Ashley for \$800.⁶³ Another lot was purchased in East Jacksonville on Duval, Palmetto, and Church streets and a larger and more commodious building was erected and opened in December, 1873.⁶⁴

One of the first enterprises of 1870 was the granting of a franchise for a new ferry. The Jacksonville Ferry Company, incorporated by Harrison Reed, George B. Carse, C. L. Mather, and E. M. Cheney, was given the authority to establish a ferry of any kind between Jacksonville and the opposite shore. The franchise was for twenty-four years and gave the owners the same

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The Fair Deal, February 9, 1881.

⁶¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 425.

⁶² Ibid., p. 425.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 425.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 425.

privileges as the former William A. Young franchise.⁶⁵

The next month another enterprise known as the Jacksonville Towing and Dredging Company was established to carry business on the St. Johns River and to engage in dredging. The capital stock was \$20,000 cash. All necessary supplies, such as boats and machinery, were to be paid for out of the capital stock; no debts were to be incurred that could not be paid out of the earnings of the company. Mr. J. C. L'Eagle was the secretary-treasurer of this company.⁶⁶

The Jacksonville City Directory and Business Advertiser appeared in 1870 as the first city directory. The Directory was compiled and written by the employees of the Florida Union Paper, the editor of which was Mr. Edward Cheney. The star reporter for the paper seemed to be a Mr. J. M. Hawks who wrote not only for this newspaper but also for the Florida Gazette and the Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Union. Evidently this book was published before April, 1870 as the mayor of the town is listed as Edward Hopkins, who went out of office in April, 1870. The book was printed by the Florida Union Book and Job Printing Office and Book Bindery. According to its advertisement in the Directory, this was the "most complete printing establishment

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Gold, op. cit., p. 181.

⁶⁶ Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Union, May 5, 1870.

67

in the State with the newest type and the best power presses.* The only binder listed in the Directory was a Mr. W. H. LeGoin employed by the Florida Book Bindery. The book itself was bound with a heavy oak cardboard cover which was well sewed. The paper used was of a slick variety in tan, yellow, and white. The print was small, fancy and plain, and contained many typographical errors. The Directory seems to have been more of a business advertiser and a census of occupations than a census of inhabitants. The Directory listed men and women, both white and colored, their occupations or business, and the approximate location of their residence or business. Although the United States Census listed the actual population of Jacksonville as 6,912, the Directory listed 1,158 persons. The Directory census was taken before the United States Census and avoided the winter guests. According to the Directory, Jacksonville in 1869-70 had employed or employable the following:

	White	Colored	Total
Men	792	221	1,013
Women	131	14	145
Total	923	235	1,158

Of the total eighty per cent were white, twenty per cent were colored. As the United States Census gives the percentage of population as being fifty-seven per cent Negro, the Directory

indicates that a large number of Negroes were unemployed at this time. The classes of work followed by the people of Jacksonville are indicated below:

Professional	8.8%
Non-professional	75.3%
No occupation	15.8%

The lawyers tended to live in two groups, one on the south side of Forsyth between Market and Liberty, the other on the south-east and southwest corners of Bay and Ocean streets. The doctors' residences were well scattered over the city; however, they seemed to prefer the south side of Duval Street and the south side of Forsyth Street. Although some of the teachers lived in the city limits, the Directory lists many of them as living north of Duval Street.

The following charts have been compiled from the Jacksonville City Directory and Business Advertiser for 1870.

OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO DIRECTORY OF 1870

Occupations	Percentage of Total Population	Occupations	Percentage of Total Population
Laborers	19.5	Painters	.7
Clerks	7.0	Lumber Owners	.6
Carpenters	6.2	Real Estate Agents	.6
Grocers	5.9	Blacksmiths	.6
Miscellaneous	3.0	Artists	.6
Hotel Proprietors	2.5	Barbers	.6

OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO DIRECTORY OF 1870 (continued)

Occupations	Percentage of Total Population	Occupations	Percentage of Total Population
Merchandisers	2.5	Stevedores	.6
Govt. Officials (without other occupations)	1.8	Restaurant Owners	.6
Bookkeepers	1.5	Brokers	.5
Widows (head of house)	1.5	Barroom Owners	.5
Teachers	1.5	Hardware & Furniture Dealers	.4
Fishermen	1.5	Millers	.4
Mechanics	1.2	Engineers	.4
Draymen	1.2	Gas fitters	.4
Lawyers	1.2	Druggists	.4
Doctors	1.1	Cigar Makers	.4
Farmers	1.1	Surveyors	.4
Seamen	1.0	Watchmen	.3
Pastors	.8	Gunsmiths	.2
Firemen and Police	.6	Editors	.09
Printers	.7		

OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES IN 1870

Occupation	Percentage of Colored Population
勞工	66.3
Laundress	5.1
Carpenter	4.6

OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES IN 1870 (continued)

Occupation	Percentage of Colored Population
Miscellaneous	3.8
Stevedore	1.7
Cook	1.7
Boatman	1.7
Farmer	1.2
Preacher	1.2
Grocer	1.2
Drayman	1.2
Barber	1.2
Clerk	1.2
Shoemaker	.8
Blacksmith	.8
Dressmaker	.8
Mason	.8
Government Official	.8
Painter	.4
Gas Fitter	.4
Miller	.4
Cabinet Maker	.4
Teacher	.4
Mechanic	.4
Boarding House	.4

OCCUPATIONS OF CITY OFFICIALS

Grocer	3	Preacher (colored)	1
Doctor	2	General Mdse.	1
Clerk	2	Miller	1
Builder	2	Marble Works	1
Police	2	Jeweler	1
Surveyor	1	None	2
Lawyer	1		

OCCUPATIONS OF COUNTY OFFICIALS

None	7	Surveyor	1
Notary	4	Cashier	1
Bookkeeper	3	Preacher	1
Policeman	3	Carpenter	1
Lawyer	2	Broker	1
Grocer	2	Editor	1
Clerk	2	Laborer	1
Dry Goods Merchant	2	Hotel Proprietor	1
Stationer	1	Out of city	10

In conclusion, it is evident that politically, by 1875, Jacksonville was still in the hands of an undesirable element but industrially, the city was well on its way to prosperity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CIVIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

From the end of the Reconstruction period until the "sting of the yellow Jack" in 1888, Jacksonville showed continuous progress along all lines.

The election of 1876 gave Jacksonville its first all white government in eight years. The mayor, Luther McConihe, was a Boston capitalist, a good citizen, and a Democrat.¹ Forming the executive department of the government the following men were elected or appointed at this time: Clerk, James B. Crabtree; Marshal, John F. Tyler; Assessor, M. A. Dzialynski; Collector, B. A. Thebaut; Treasurer, M. H. Moody; Surveyor, A. S. Knight; Physician, Dr. A. W. Knight; Port Physician, Dr. A. Gindrat; Sexton, Calvin Oak; and Market Clerk, E. E. Willard. The aldermen who formed the legislative department of the city consisted of G. R. Jones, B. H. Webster, J. H. Burton, J. C. Greeley, Gus Muller, A. E. Sawyer, T. E. Buckner, A. Doggett, and J. E.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 297.

Hartridge.² As Mr. Greeley and Mr. Sawyer were the only Republicans elected at this time, there was much rejoicing among the Democrats over this election.³

Although the Negroes were partially cleared out by this election there were still several important positions filled by them. Five police, two justices of peace, two constables, one deputy, one special deputy in the Customs office, the Collector of Customs, five railroad mail agents, one Post Office clerk, and one revenue boatman were Negro men.⁴

The Republican, Peter Jones, once more became mayor in 1879. The Daily Florida Union of July 17, 1879, gives a few interesting episodes which took place on the day of the election. It seems that due to some legal snarl the election did not take place in April. The colored men were outspoken for Peter Jones. The editor of the Union says, "If Peter Jones is elected it will not be by taxpayers but by those who wish to see the city beautified. His vote is drawn almost exclusively from the negro, a number of white Republicans refusing to vote for him, convinced by his former administrations (five) that he should not govern again."⁵ Several inspectors refused to serve at the polls, so

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W. S. Webb, Jacksonville Directory, 1876-7 (New York, 1876).

3 Davis, op. cit., p. 296.

4 Webb, op. cit.

5 Florida Daily Union, July 17, 1879.

the voting places were late in opening. The day was very warm, and many rides were being offered to the friends of the candidates. Though the day were warm, it was very quiet due to the fact that drunken men were scarce, and music and banners were absent. Little money was being offered to voters "much to the disappointment of some." Eighty who had forgotten to register were turned away from the polls. A colored man had a handful of election tickets which he was distributing to the voters; they were printed for the last election. The editor goes on to say,

It is the hope of all good citizens that a good Board of Aldermen may be elected. We have advocated the selection of the old board simply because they have done well. Four or five of the present board are Republicans and we have advocated their election equally as much as we have Democrats. We care not what their politics may be. They may be as black as Dante's Inferno and yet prove to be capable officers and well qualified to lead us on.⁶

Peter Jones again was a candidate for mayor in the Republican nominating convention of 1880, but J. Ramsey Dey secured the nomination and the election. In 1881, the Democrats were successful in electing Morris Dzialynski for mayor. From this year on, with the exception of the year 1887, the Democratic party remained in power.

On May 3, 1887, the charters of La Villa, Fairfield, and Jacksonville were abolished and a municipality called Jackson-

ville was established.⁷ The corporate government included Mayor, City Council of two members from each ward, Board of Public Works of three members, Comptroller, Recorder, Treasurer, Board of Police Commissioners of three members, Municipal Judge, and Marshal. All officers except the Mayor and the City Council were to be elected by the Council. The charter was so drafted as to permit the interpretation that it included no provision for the registration of voters for the first election.⁸ The Supreme Court decided that an election would be legal. The city was divided into nine wards and there was a 364 majority of Negro voters for the whole city. C. B. Smith, supported by a "Composite" ticket composed of many Republicans and Negroes, and Frank W. Pope, supported by the "Citizens" ticket composed of many Democrats, were the candidates for the office of Mayor. Smith received over three times as many votes as Pope, a fact which was due largely to the increased Negro vote brought in by the absorption of the suburbs. Of the eighteen aldermen elected at this time, thirteen were Republicans, five of which were Negroes.⁹ In the Smith administration five aldermen, the Municipal Judge, fifteen Policemen, two Sergeants of Police, and the Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners were Negroes.¹⁰

⁷ Laws of Florida, 1887, Chapter 3775, 1887.

⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 299.

⁹ Ibid., p. 299.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 299.

This situation proved to be embarrassing for the city for this administration soon proved itself incapable. The charter was changed in 1889 so that the City Council became appointive by the Governor of Florida.¹¹

In 1876, another city directory was compiled by W. S. Webb with the help of the Florida Daily Union, Jacksonville Free, The Sun, Semi Tropical, and Florida Agriculturist. Supposedly the directory contained the names of all male adults, widows, and women who were engaged in business. These were supposed to constitute one-fourth of the population in Jacksonville.¹² The number of persons in this category was as follows:

	White	Colored	Total
Men	1,121	832	1,953
Women	202	40	242
Total	1,323	872	2,195

This increase in population encouraged the establishment of new enterprises and civic improvements. On May 1, 1877, William Boyd Barnett opened a private bank known as the Bank of Jacksonville in the old Freedman's Bank Building on the southwest corner of Pine and Forsyth streets. The beginning capital was \$36,450 and Mr. Barnett's office force consisted of himself, his son, Bion, and one clerk.¹³ Four years later the capital was

¹¹ Ibid., p. 300.

¹² Brown, op. cit., p. 67.

¹³ Gold, op. cit., p. 246.

increased to \$60,000¹⁴ and the Bank of Jacksonville had grown to be the largest bank in the State.¹⁵ The bank was nationalized eleven years later as the National Bank of Jacksonville with Mr. Barnett as president.¹⁶

A Board of Health was created in 1877 which consisted of the mayor, the aldermen, and two citizens elected by the City Council. The powers of the board included the regulation of vital statistics, imposing of fines, power to quarantine in all parts of Duval County.¹⁷ In the late summer, yellow fever broke out in Fernandina and armed guards were placed around the city to prevent entrance or exit. The health officials issued daily bulletins concerning the condition of the epidemic.¹⁸ In spite of the precautions taken by the Board of Health, twenty-two¹⁹ people died from yellow fever in this epidemic.

As a result of this epidemic, the people became aware that the city needed better sanitation, better sewerage systems, and better water supply. For these purposes the city was bonded in

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Ragete, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁵Gold, op. cit., p. 247.

¹⁶Merick, op. cit., II, p. 58.

¹⁷Gold, op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁸Davis, op. cit., p. 158.

¹⁹R. P. Daniel, Report on Yellow Fever in Jacksonville, Florida in 1877 (Jacksonville, 1878), p. 24.

1878 for \$250,000 in twenty year, eight per cent bonds. The bonds sold readily,²⁰ and the funds of this sale were placed in the hands of the Board of Trustees of the Sanitary Improvement Fund which included Dr. A. S. Baldwin, chairman, Dr. T. Hartridge, J. J. Daniel, S. B. Hubbard, and M. W. Drew.²¹ The plan of Public Works, which was presented to the Trustees in January, 1878,²² and to which the proceeds of the Sanitary Bonds were to be applied, included the draining and filling in of certain low lands in various parts of the city; improving the Hogans and McCoys Creeks; erecting a waterworks; and constructing an effective sewerage system.

Work was begun immediately. The low places which had been used as dumps for garbage were thoroughly disinfected and covered with from three to five feet of white sand.²³ The two creeks were dredged and cleared of all obstructions.²⁴

Regarding the location of the water works, the report of Trustees stated "There being no suitable stream or spring near enough to the city from which to obtain a supply of good water, explorations for water from underground sources were commenced

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Brown, op. cit., p. 53.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 318.

²²

Brown, op. cit., p. 53.

²³

Ibid., p. 53.

²⁴

Ibid., p. 53.

August 1, 1878. The point selected was on low ground in the suburb known as 'Springfield' on the north side of Hogan's Creek, west of Pine Street.²⁵ Dr. J. A. Cloud, of Philadelphia, was given the contract for establishing the waterworks, a system of sewers, and other public work. The waterworks plant was completed in July, 1880 costing about \$130,000 complete.²⁶ Dr. Cloud was paid \$89,725 in Sanitary bonds for the job.²⁷ The waterworks were supplied by two Worthington Duplex pumping engines with a capacity of 1,500,000 gallons per day²⁸ with a pressure of twenty-five pounds to the square inch. An octagon shaped building protected the well and the pump house was built of gray Florida brick. In 1882 saline properties were suddenly introduced into the subterranean streams which supplied the wells so it became necessary to change the source of supply.²⁹ The water was then taken temporarily from the north branch of Hogan's Creek which was fed by springs north of the city. In 1884 explorations for underground water close to the waterworks plant were begun. From the report of Dr. Baldwin, December 21, 1885,³⁰

²⁵ Legate, op. cit., p. 33.

²⁶ Brown, op. cit., p. 53.

²⁷ Davis, op. cit., p. 321.

²⁸ Legate, op. cit., p. 34.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

³⁰ Brown, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

it will be seen that there were two satisfactory artesian wells sunk. A four inch well was driven 490 feet and it produced a flow of 120 gallons per minute. The next month a six inch well was driven 637 feet producing a flow of 650 gallons per minute.³¹ On the completion of these wells the supply from the creek was discontinued. Later, another six inch well was completed near the plant. Jacksonville was now supplied with about 2,400,000 gallons of water daily. As a result of a fire in 1888 the Trustees saw the need of a fourth well. This was a ten inch well which was sunk to a depth of 1,020 feet and produced a flow of 3,350,000 gallons a day. This was considered to be a sufficient supply for future years, but it was later discovered that private concerns had sunk numerous other wells which reduced the yield from the city wells.

At the same time that measures were being taken for establishing a pure water supply, the Trustees were planning to secure an effective system of sewerage. Work on the sewers was begun in November, 1879³² and it was accepted by the trustees in 1881. The sewers were constructed of vitrified terra-cotta pipe, ranging in size from eight to twenty-four inches, carefully laid to grade and alignment, and jointed with Portland cement.³³

31

Davis, op. cit., p. 321.

32

Engate, op. cit., p. 34.

33

Brown, op. cit., p. 54.

The average elevation of the city being twenty-five feet insured easy drainage facilities.

The year 1879 was one of planned publicity for Jacksonville. Local business men and the Fruit Growers' Association organized a State Park Association for the purpose of holding Horticulture and State Fairs.³⁴ Five thousand dollars was raised for the purchase of twenty-eight acres of land in Fairfield where they erected buildings and race course.³⁵ During this time George P. Hart and John E. Martridge were appointed on the Board of Honorary Commissioners to represent Florida at the Paris Exposition.³⁶

The year 1880 marked improvement in hotel facilities. The Grand Hotel was remodeled and its name changed to the Everett. It was regarded as prominent among the "elegant hotels of Jacksonville."³⁷ The Pennsylvania House was located on the corner of Forsyth and Cedar streets near the Waycross depot.³⁸ George W. Smith erected the Grand View Hotel, one of the "coziest little hotels" in the south, in 1883.³⁹ The Oxford, a large apartment

³⁴ Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 345.

³⁵ Gold, op. cit., p. 168.

³⁶ Rerick, op. cit., I, p. 345.

³⁷ Engate, op. cit., p. 55.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 58.

house on the corner of Laura and Duval streets, was opened by Mr. Benjamin L. Hughes in 1883.⁴⁰ For the visitors who did not like hotel life but preferred a more informal atmosphere, there were many boarding houses. By 1885 the best known boarding houses in Jacksonville were Mrs. Day's Boarding House, Mrs. Freeland's Boarding House, Mrs. Dennis' House, The Virginia Home, The Sledge House, Mrs. Shaw's Boarding House, The Ocean House, and Pleasant View House.⁴¹

Tourist arrivals during 1884-85 numbered 60,000. Many who came could not be accommodated and had to move on to other cities.⁴²

The question of paving the streets was raised by an editorial in the Jacksonville Daily Times in 1882 and followed up by the Board of Trade which tried to interest the people and the Council in such a venture. Nothing was done until 1886 when a contract to pave with Wyckoff cypress block, laid on one inch planks, was let. The Florida Railway and Navigation Company at first agreed to pay for the pavement in front of their property but at the last minute refused. Regardless, the work was begun March 18 and completed in June. The pavement included Bay Street

⁴⁰ Esgate, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 60-62.

⁴² Davis, op. cit., p. 173.

from Market to Julia, except the strip in front of Florida Railway and Navigation Company; Market Street, from Duval Street to the river; Hogan Street at the river front; and Pine Street.⁴³ The block pavement was considered satisfactory and was used until 1892.

The Thompson and Houston system of electric lighting was introduced in Jacksonville in 1883 by J. R. Campbell who placed eight lights in front of and within the St. James Hotel.⁴⁴ In 1884 H. Wadsworth came to Jacksonville for the purpose of installing electric lights. Before he installed a plant, he had to have at least fifty subscribers. These he obtained easily. However, just as he started to erect the plant, he sold out to a stock company known as Jacksonville Electric Light Company.⁴⁵ The plant was erected under Wadsworth's supervision, and the lights were turned on in the stores on Bay Street, January 10, 1885.⁴⁶ Dr. J. A. Cloud also erected a plant for supplying lights to hotels and private homes in 1886, but he sold his plant to the Citizens Gas Light Company about four months later.

Modern mail service began in Jacksonville during the term of William N. Ledwith, postmaster, when a carrier service was

⁴³ Davis, op. cit., p. 328.

⁴⁴ Eggle, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴⁵ Davis, op. cit., p. 322.

⁴⁶ Eggle, op. cit., p. 35.

inaugurated with four men. The post office did not have quarters of its own until 1884-85, when it was moved to the Mohawk Building on the southwest corner of Bay and Market streets. The establishment of carrier service gave an impetus to a movement for the erection of a Government building in the city.⁴⁷

By 1885 Jacksonville had a population of approximately 20,000. It was during this year that the Southern Bell Telephone Company, established in 1880, increased the telephone rates from \$51.00 to \$60.00 a year, causing a protest from the citizens. The Board of Trade asked the telephone company to reconsider this increase but the telephone company only sent an insulting letter to the Board. As a result, steps were taken to invite a competitive company to come to Jacksonville, and a boycott of the Southern Bell Telephone Company was put into effect. The Southern Bell remained firm in its decision, taking out telephones as the subscriptions expired. The superintendent of the company arrived and a compromise was made. The City Council finally passed a \$300 tax a year upon the company. At this time there were 170 telephones in operation in Jacksonville.⁴⁸

In order to offset the advertising campaign put on by California in 1886-7, it was decided to establish a great

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Davis, op. cit., p. 339.

48

Ibid., p. 172.

exposition of sub-tropical products and resources to be held annually during the winter months. The company was formed with a capital of \$100,000. A part of the Water Works Park at the corner of Pine and First streets was leased and the buildings erected. The exposition was greatly advertised for eight months before its opening. The great opening took place on January 12, 1888, with a huge parade witnessed by 30,000 people.⁴⁹ President Cleveland visited the fair on February 22, 1888, after which there was a grand reception for his party in the St. James Hotel.⁵⁰ The Sub-Tropical officially closed for the season April 20. According to their financial reports, they cleared \$8,879 in receipts from January 12 to April 20.

Newspaper ventures in Jacksonville had failed regularly since the establishment of the Courier in the 1830's. Harrison W. Clark gained control of the Republican paper Florida Courier in 1872, but after making it Democratic it went out of business.⁵¹ In 1877 he established the Daily Chronicle with George F. Cubbedge, but this paper lasted only a few months.⁵² In the meanwhile The Press had been started in 1874 by McCallum and Douglas and The Sun in 1876 by Sawyer and Son. Both papers combined in 1877 as the Sun and Press, the first six day a week

⁴⁹ Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, New York, January 21, 1888.

⁵⁰ Davis, op. cit., p. 178.

⁵¹ Gold, op. cit., p. 405.

⁵² Ibid.

papers business had grown to such an extent that the old quarters on the southeast corner of Bay and Laura streets were abandoned for the McConihe block at the southwest corner of the same streets.⁶⁰

In 1886, Varnum, who had sold out to Jones and his associates, started The Morning News, a rival newspaper. It was soon purchased by Stockton Brothers, who had also purchased the Herald, and the two combined into the News-Herald.⁶¹ The owners of the News-Herald became the Florida Publishing Company⁶² and purchased the Times-Union from Mr. Jones in 1880.⁶³

When the Herald was purchased by Stockton Brothers, William R. Carter and R. A. Russell found themselves without jobs. Each had \$300, and with \$600 advanced by John Temple Graves, they established the Florida Metropolis, an evening newspaper which became an outstanding paper.⁶⁴

During this period several organizations for social, educational, and industrial interests were formed. In 1877 a group of men interested in promoting aquatic sports, yacht building and sailing organized the Florida Yacht Club and built a club house

⁶⁰ Esgate, op. cit., p. 49.

⁶¹ Gold, op. cit., p. 170.

⁶² Ibid., p. 170.

⁶³ Davis, op. cit., p. 454.

⁶⁴ Gold, op. cit., pp. 407-408.

at the foot of Market Street.⁶⁵

One of the finest social clubs in the south was organized in 1883 under the name of The Jacksonville Club. The club erected a two story brick building on the northeast corner of Laura and Adams streets, and by 1886 the membership was one hundred persons.⁶⁶

Educational and cultural advance was made when the Jacksonville Library Association was organized by Mrs. Aristides Doggett, Miss May Moore, and Miss Florence Murphy.⁶⁷ With the assistance of interested citizens free reading rooms were opened, books and periodicals were furnished, and a library was established in a rented room in the Astor Building.⁶⁸ In 1883, the association was incorporated under the laws of the state⁶⁹ as the Jacksonville Library Association with J. Q. Burbridge as president. The organization was able the next year to build a one story frame building on the southeast corner of Laura and Adam streets. The library building in time came to be the community house for Jacksonville, where social meetings of all kinds were held, while on Sunday various religious denominations used it for their

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Esgate, op. cit., p. 81.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 81

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

⁶⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 429.

⁶⁹ Esgate, op. cit., p. 82.

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services.

There are evidences of a Board of Trade in Jacksonville as far back as 1856, when such an organization placed an advertisement in the History and Antiquities of St. Augustine.⁷¹ This organization, of which Dr. Theodore Hartridge was president, was probably disbanded at the beginning of the Civil War. In 1866 an effort was made to revive the Board of Trade, and there are traces of it as late as 1872.⁷² The first meeting for the organization of present Board of Trade (Chamber of Commerce) was held in the office of John Q. Burbridge on January 31, 1884. This meeting was attended by twenty men who believed that the interests of Jacksonville demanded a Board of Trade. The first president was George F. Drew and the first secretary, John P. Varnum.⁷³

The efforts of the citizens to progress were temporarily retarded by a few disasters terminating with the dreaded "sting of the yellow jack." The first of these was a fire which occurred on the south side of Bay Street between Laura and Pine on December 16, 1885. Two hundred thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed, and the fire, once again, indicated the necessity

⁷⁰ Davis, op. cit., p. 429.

⁷¹ Davis, History of Early Jacksonville, Florida, p. 139.

⁷² Davis, History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, p. 432.

⁷³ Jacksonville Board of Trade Report, pp. 11-12.

of a regularly organized paid fire department.⁷⁴

On January 8, 1886, a severe storm occurred which continued to January 11.⁷⁵ The temperature on the 11th fell to 19 degrees and on the 12th to 15 degrees.⁷⁶ Much damage was done to the water system, and many orange trees were killed. In August of the same year an earthquake brought terror to the citizens for eleven minutes.⁷⁷

On July 28, 1886, R. D. McCormick who had just come from Tampa became ill. The Board of Health pronounced his case to be yellow fever and issued a proclamation that the disease was spreading. Quarantine was declared against the city by almost the entire United States, and the fleeing inhabitants had great difficulty in finding places to live. As protective measures, authorities in nearby towns refused to allow merchandise of any description to come into their communities from the infected district. As a result, business in Jacksonville was completely paralyzed. The Clyde Steamship line was discontinued at this time. The government established a camp on the St. Mary's River where all refugees bound north and west by rail had to remain ten days before proceeding. Conditions at Camp Perry

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Davis, op. cit., p. 173.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 174.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 174.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 174.

were so poor that many people preferred to remain in the city and face the horrors of the epidemic.

At first Jacksonville was able to care for herself financially out of the donations of her own citizens, therefore, offers from outside sources were politely refused. But later, on September 5, an appeal was sent to the nation. The Americans responded to the appeal with great generosity. \$331,972 in cash, and \$13,467 in supplies were received from people over the country.⁷⁸ The Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association was organized to assist the Board of Health in its work and to be the medium through which contributions were received and disbursed. This organization had full control of the relief work and supervised the sanitary work.

Upon the belief that concussion would destroy the fever germs, five cannon with two hundred rounds of ammunition were fired on the evening of August 17 and on many nights thereafter.⁷⁹ The only result of this was the breakage of many windows. Hotels and restaurants were closed as farmers were afraid to bring produce to the city. The able-bodied men who were idle were given the work of cleaning up the city. But with this activity, the city seemed to be utterly desolate. Many unhappy stories are told of the conditions at this time. It was decided that the

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Cold, op. cit., p. 174.

⁷⁹ Report of Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association, 1888

only way to stop the epidemic would be to depopulate the city. Two camps were established for this purpose and two or three refugee trains were run out of Jacksonville.

The Florida Times-Union of October 9 is concerned wholly with the epidemic. This particular issue was decorated in wide black lines signifying the death of its editor, Edward Martin. The same paper carried resolutions upon the death of Dr. W. H. Babcock, Frank Marvin, and Mrs. James Fairlie. The first Press Club was organized for the purpose of assisting each member in case of sickness and fever. There was a notice that the County schools would remain closed until the epidemic was over. Every-
⁸⁰ one who could possibly do so was urged to get out of town.

For the people who could not afford medicine and care, the United States Marine Hospital offered service free of charge.

Upon hearing that Congress had appropriated \$200,000 for relief, many Negroes stopped work and others came into the city from the suburbs. In the early part of September a house to house canvass was made; 3,945 white and 9,812 colored were then in the city.
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Of the 282 members of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association, 67 had the fever, and 16 of these died. Of the 4,704 cases of fever in the city there were 427 deaths. The

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Florida Times-Union, October 9, 1888.

⁸¹Davis, op. cit., p. 184.

last death occurred on December 5 and the quarantine was lifted
from the city on December 15.⁸²

82

Report of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Webb gave the following estimate of the city in 1876:

The city is growing rapidly and is destined to be still more a great commercial center, which it is. The avenues of support which will make this city double and multiply in population in the next one or two decades are several. The immense forests in this state of southern pine and live oak, the latter more particularly for ship building, which still remain in their virgin solitude; the trade of northern Florida and southern Georgia which is concentrating here; the trade of the St. Johns, Ocklawaha, and Indian Rivers; the tourists trade which is ready cash amounting to thousands of dollars every day for four months in the year; these with the immense agricultural and fruit productions of the state, of which this city is the principal mart, afford an unequal opportunity for Jacksonville to increase and multiply beyond the sanguine expectations of her most firm adherents. 1

The orange industry had begun to attract the country's attention

1

Webb, Jacksonville Directory for 1876-7, p. 5.

and the grove owners in and around Jacksonville began to make money. Fruit brought from the interior was reshipped at Jacksonville; thus, the demand for new lines of transportation was constantly in the minds of the citizens.² To facilitate river transportation, the Legislature of 1877 gave the commissioners of pilotage power to appoint and license pilots for the bar of the St. Johns and required that the pilot boats should be in accordance with specifications of the commissioners.

About 1870 Frederick De Bary, owner of a famous winter home and orange grove on Lake Monroe, purchased the steamer "George M. Bird" for his private use in traveling on the St. Johns, and in hunting expeditions, but the public demands for transportation were such that his boat was soon running regularly between Jacksonville and Enterprise under Captain Richard Stewart. In 1878 Captain William A. Shaw, an experienced river boat captain, was given command of the "Bird," and in 1880 De Bary obtained the contract for carrying a daily mail. This led to the purchase of the "Rosa" and the "Florence." Later, "Frederick De Bary," "Welaka" and "City of Jacksonville" were added to the line. Colonel H. T. Baya, a native of St. Augustine, became a partner in 1883, and the name was changed to the DeBary-Baya Merchant's Line. By 1885 the company had thirteen

² Gold, op. cit., p. 167.

boats running and three hundred people employed.³

The Plant Investment Company also established a line of four river steamers in connection with its railroad the "Plant System." This line had on the St. Johns River the "W. B. Plant,"⁴ the first all steel steamer in the United States.⁴

Besides these there were several lines with smaller boats maintaining regular schedules between Jacksonville and points on the river.

According to a report of the County Commissioners published in 1885, the river teemed with craft which numbered seventy-four vessels totaling 8,168 registered tonnage with estimated value of river commerce of \$2,042,000.⁵ This was claimed to have been the largest tonnage of any inland local traffic south of the Hudson River. The estimated value of vessels and cargoes arriving and departing from Jacksonville was \$32,270,000 in 1882. Among the articles of commerce mentioned are 37,440 bales of cotton, 69,041,548 feet of lumber, and 316,000 crates of fruit and vegetables.⁶

Dr. Baldwin, still the leading advocate of the St. Johns River improvement, in 1878 visited Captain James B. Eads who

³ Webb, Historical, Industrial, and Biographical Florida, p. 183.

⁴ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 217.

⁵ Gold, op. cit., p. 187.

⁶ Ibid., p. 187.

was then constructing jetties below New Orleans. He influenced the famous engineer to investigate the bar channels of the St. Johns for a fee of \$1,000,⁷ which was raised by popular subscription. Captain Eads' report, recommending high jetties, was approved by the citizens and with a memorial was submitted to Congress in 1878. The memorial was effective for late in the same year, Captain George Daubigny, under the supervision of General G. A. Gillmore, made a thorough study of the mouth of the river.⁸ As a result of this study, General Gillmore recommended a system of low jetties.⁹ Dr. Baldwin, continuing his agitation in Congress, finally secured an appropriation of \$125,000 in 1880. The work was begun after the contracts had been awarded to R. G. Ross & Company and J. H. Durkee; however, work on the jetties was stopped from time to time to await further appropriations from Congress. Captain R. G. Ross, who was associated with the jetty work for forty years, has given an account of the work at the mouth of the river in his Reminiscences.¹⁰ The preliminary work on the south jetty began on December 14, 1880. As a foundation for the stone, a mattress

⁷ Berick, op. cit., II, p. 220.

⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 385.

⁹ Ibid., p. 385.

¹⁰ Reminiscences of Captain R. G. Ross, in Davis, op. cit., pp. 387-389.

was made of logs, nine inches in diameter at the smaller end, and placed close together, spiked, and fastened with binders. On top of this raft a layer of loose brush, a foot thick, was placed and fastened with poles and wire. The width of the mattress varied from 25 to 150 feet according to the depth of the water. At this time hills of rock were being cut down in New York City to grade new streets and in order to clear the rock away, the contractors sold the stone for twenty-five cents a ton, f.o.b. vessel. Only three hundred tons could be brought across the bar. "Thus New York City sent us the foundation for making Jacksonville the most prosperous city on the south Atlantic coast."¹¹ The work was stopped by injunction in 1885 by a man who claimed that he held a patent on the log mattress which was being used. Captain Ross had previously worked out a plan for a similar mattress composed of bundles of brush and other small growth, so he took this opportunity to experiment with it. This method proved so successful that the Government adopted his plan to be used wherever jetties are built on sand or mud base. Next, Florida hard flint surface stone was used for the submerged jetties. Two ridges of stone with a space between were built up to the low water level. Then, the space between the two ridges was filled with oyster shell mixed with

¹¹

Ibid., p. 367.

Florida limestone, and a layer of hard stone was placed on top. With the help of the shell fish which clung to this combination, a solid breakwater below the level of the water was formed. The submerged jetties were completed in June, 1893; in the meanwhile, however, Congress had seriously considered the report of Mr. Eads who had recommended high jetties. It was decided to built a seven foot superstructure, and the work was begun in 1893-94. Granite boulders, averaging five tons each, were brought from South Carolina and placed on top of the submerged work. This work progressed slowly and satisfactorily.¹² By June 1893, a channel over the bar fifteen feet deep at low tide and nineteen and one-half feet deep at high tide had been dredged. While the work at the mouth of the river was in progress, agitation for an increased depth in the channel off Dames Point was begun by the business community, newspapers, and the Board of Trade.¹³ With the help of the War Department, Judge E. M. Randall, Captain W. M. Black, and General Casey, a bill was prepared; and through the efforts of D. G. Ambler, J. S. Fairhead, J. H. C. Stockton, and J. D. Bucky, the bill allowing Duval County to call an election to decide whether the county

¹²

Ibid., p. 388.

¹³ C. Smith, Jacksonville Board of Trade Report from January 1, 1896 to December 31, 1902 (Jacksonville: Garrett Printing Company, 1902), p. 54.

should bond itself for \$300,000 for St. Johns River improvements was passed by the Legislature.¹⁴ Although there was a strong opposition, the bonds were voted on December 3, 1891 and sold at a premium to Jacksonville bankers and capitalists for the sum of \$305,251.79.¹⁵ The work was begun in June, 1892, and completed two years later at a cost of \$301,236.63.¹⁶ The result was a channel 200 feet wide with a medium depth of twenty feet at high water from Jacksonville to the ocean. The following statement taken from the Board of Trade Report shows the entire cost of the improvement of the St. Johns River from 1870-1902.¹⁷

From 1870 to 1878 inclusive for surveys and dredging		
June 14, 1880 U. S. Government appropriation		\$ 70,000.00
March 3, 1881 U. S.	"	125,000.00
August 2, 1882 U. S.	"	100,000.00
July 5, 1884 U. S.	"	150,000.00
August 5, 1886 U. S.	"	150,000.00
August 11, 1888 U. S.	"	175,000.00
September 19, 1890 U. S.	"	170,000.00
July 13, 1892 U. S.	"	112,000.00
March 3, 1893 U. S.	"	284,000.00
June 3, 1896 U. S.	"	200,000.00
March 3, 1899 U. S.	"	200,000.00
		<u>\$1,886,000.00</u>
In 1892-4 Duval County expended		301,236.63
In 1902 U. S. Government spent in dredging		10,000.00
Total Cost		<u>\$2,197,236.63</u>

¹⁴Ibid., p. 55.¹⁵Ibid., p. 55.¹⁶Ibid., p. 55.¹⁷Ibid., p. 56.

According to a comparative table of commerce of the port of Jacksonville from 1870 to 1894, compiled by Charles H.

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Smith from the Custom House records, the average tonnage of vessels entering the port in 1870 was 338 per vessel. In 1894 the average tonnage shown is 1,060 per vessel. The exports in 1870 were valued at \$1,698,800, whereas in 1894 the value was \$15,000,000. The deepening of the river channel and the work on the jetties had resulted in an increase of one third in the river commerce by the year 1894.

In 1878, after the government had begun dredging at the mouth of the river, the Mallory Line opened steamer service to Jacksonville. The first steamer of the Clyde Line arrived in Jacksonville on November 25, 1886. The line opened with one ship a week. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1886 its service was discontinued until December of that year.

From the period of the Civil War to 1880, there was little activity in railroad construction affecting Jacksonville.

The Internal Improvement Act which had been passed in 1855 gave the companies who undertook construction of proposed railroads the right to issue coupon bonds at the rate of \$10,000 per mile to defray expense of rails and equipment, and additional bonds for bridges and trestle work. These bonds were to be due in thirty-five years, and bear an interest of seven per cent,

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Brown, op. cit., p. 78.

payable semi-annually, and be a first lien on the roads. The bonds were to be endorsed by the State treasurer guaranteeing that the Internal Improvement fund was to pay the interest. Land grants amounting to about six square miles for each mile of road were given to the companies. Counties were authorized to bond themselves to aid the roads, and all railroads were exempt from taxation. During the construction of the railroads the company was to pay the fund every six months fifty per cent of its net income, to apply on the interest on the outstanding bonds. However small this might be, the fund would make up the balance necessary to pay the interest due to the bondholders. After the company had completed its proposed road, then it should pay the fund one per cent per annum on the amount of the bonded debt, to form a sinking fund to meet the principal of the bonds when they came due. If, after paying this one per cent, the net earnings of the company in any year should be less than six per cent on the amount of capital stock actually paid in and the bonded debt, then the net earnings were to be divided in two portions, pro rata to the stock and the bonds, and the part apportioned to the bonds should be paid the fund to assist it in meeting the interest. When the net earnings, after the payments to the sinking fund, exceeded six per cent as stated, then the company must pay the Internal Improvement fund the entire interest on the bonds as it became due. In any case the fund paid the coupon holders, whose right to rely on the guaranty

of the trust fund was not affected by the earnings of the road. For all payments of interest out of the fund in excess of what any railroad company turned in toward the same, the fund was to receive capital stock of the company, by virtue of the same to enjoy the privileges and advantages of private stockholders.

The railroads, being practically wrecked by the Civil War, failed to make the required payments to the Internal Improvement fund. A provision of the Internal Improvement Act stated that no bonds would be endorsed by the trustees for any road constructed eight years after the approval of the act. This period expired in January, 1863, and there never was any extension of time, although the greater part of the proposed roads in Florida remained unconstructed.¹⁹ The lines or parts of lines constructed after the war were regarded as completed roads within the meaning of the internal improvement law, and the companies operating them having failed to pay the sinking fund one-half of one per cent semi-annually, the trustees, under the power given them by the statute, seized and sold them.²⁰

The only road which came into Jacksonville at the close of the war was described by a traveler in this manner:

...We went from Marianna to Tallahassee,

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Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 187.

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For the provisions of this act see Rerick, op. cit., II, pp. 176-180.

seventy-five miles by private conveyance, there not being any railroad in the state west of Tallahassee. From Tallahassee to Jacksonville, (we) traveled on what was called the Florida, Central, and Peninsula Railroad. It was a streak of rust. The train ran off the track three or four times a trip. After eighteen hours of tedious travel (we) reached Jacksonville. There was no depot, the train stopped at its terminus at the corner of Cedar and Forsyth Streets.... There were no public conveyances to meet the traveler. Not a horse team in the city.... 21

This road was sold by the trustees of the internal improvement fund on March 4, 1868, to William E. Jackson and his associates for \$111,000. 22

The first effort toward new construction before 1880 occurred in August, 1868, when the St. Augustine Railroad Company was incorporated by M. S. Littlefield and George W. Swepson, two of the most notorious men in the period of Reconstruction. Through loans to the State and to the governor, Littlefield influenced Governor Reed to call a special session of the legislature whereby \$4,000,000 worth of bonds were issued for Swepson's benefit. An order of court restrained the Governor and Treasurer from signing the bonds. 23 The road from Jacksonville to St. Augustine was postponed.

21

Robinson, op. cit.

22

Berick, op. cit., II, p. 182.

23

Ibid., I, pp. 316-317; II, pp. 182-183.

In 1881 the Internal Improvement fund was released from debt by the sale of four million acres of its land to Hamilton Disston. This resulted in the consolidation and extension of the old railroad system, and an immediate and very remarkable revival of railroad building in all parts of the State. The companies then in existence or chartered after 1881 were aided by the Internal Improvement fund by donations of alternate sections of land within six mile parallels along their lines, and special grants in addition. If the lands adjoining the railroad lines were not lands belonging to the Internal Improvement fund, equivalent acres in the southern part of the state were granted. Under this stimulus new railroad construction began and old railroad lines were revived.

The Jacksonville St. Augustine and Indian River Railroad Company, chartered on March 4, 1879, had completed a road from the St. Johns River to the Indian River by way of St. Augustine by 1881.²⁴ In the meanwhile a line from Yulee to Jacksonville was constructed under the name of the Fernandina and Jacksonville Railroad Company.²⁵ This company agreed to maintain its shops in Jacksonville if the city would give it permission to cross Bay Street. The principal business of this road was the

²⁴ From Report of Secretary of Board of Trustees, I.I.Fund, 1881, printed in the House Journal of 1883, pp. 109, 126.

²⁵ Incorporated on March 16, 1880.

hauling of logs to Henry Clark's mill. A station was built
 near Hogan's Creek.²⁶

In 1882 the old Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central, which had been sold to William E. Jackson, was conveyed to the Florida Central and Western Railroad Company which had completed a line from the Apalachicola River to Lake City.²⁷

Soon after Mr. Dixton purchased the four million acres, he transferred half his interests to foreign capitalists, represented in Florida by Sir Edward Reed, of England, Dr. Jacobus Wertheim, of Amsterdam, and General Philip Roddy, of Alabama and London. These capitalists, who were also interested in railroad bonds, made the first extensive combination of railroads in Florida, including the Florida Transit and Peninsula, Fernandina and Jacksonville, Florida Central and Western, Leesburg and Indian River. Under their ownership the system was consolidated in 1884 under the name of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.²⁸ In November, 1885, this company went into receivership and was sold to W. Bayard Cutting at public auction. On July 12, 1886, Mr. Cutting sold the line to a company operating under the name of Florida Central and Peninsula Railroad. This line was merged with the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company on

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Records of Seaboard Air Line, Jacksonville, Florida.

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Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

²⁸

Berick, *op. cit.*, II, p. 190.

August 15, 1903. ²⁹

A line to the north of Jacksonville was opened in 1881. The East Florida railroad was built from Jacksonville to the St. Mary's River where it met a road from Waycross, Georgia. This enabled a company to operate the first direct line from Savannah to Jacksonville. Henry L. Plant purchased the East Florida road and organized the Savannah, Florida, and Western Railroad Company which was merged with the Atlantic Coast Line in 1902. ³⁰

A line to the south of Jacksonville was opened in 1883 when a road from the south side of the St. Johns River to St. Augustine was completed. The Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway, as the company was named, operated ferry service across the St. Johns River in connection with the railroad. The roadbed and equipment of this railroad were crude. The rails weighed thirty pounds to the yard, as compared with the ninety pound rail in use today. They were laid narrow gauge, three feet apart, instead of four feet, eight and one-half inches, later adopted by the railroads as standard gauge. The locomotives were wood burners and had large bell-shaped stacks, with a screen over the top known as a "spark arrester." All

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Records of Seaboard Air Line Railroad, Jacksonville, Florida.

³⁰ Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 195.

³¹ Brief History of the Florida East Coast Railway, p. 6.

equipment had link and pin couplers and hand brakes. The fare charged for the thirty-six mile ride between Jacksonville and St. Augustine was \$1.50 one way, \$2.50 round trip.³² This road was opened to commercial service on June 28, 1883³³ and was advertised in 1884 as the "St. Augustine Route." The headquarters for this line were located in Jacksonville, the officers being W. C. Greene, president, W. L. Crawford, treasurer, and G. D. Ackerly, general passenger agent. A new winter time table³⁴ dated October 29, 1883 showed seven stations or stops between Jacksonville and St. Augustine.

In 1883 Henry M. Flagler, who had made his fortune in the oil business, came to St. Augustine where he found the hotel facilities crude in comparison with those in the northern cities. Realizing the potentialities of the historic "Ancient City," he planned a magnificent hotel to be called the Ponce de Leon. He sent his architects to Spain to prepare plans for this vast enterprise and arranged for the building materials. The work on the Ponce de Leon began in 1885. However, Flagler found that the narrow gauge line into St. Augustine would neither permit adequate transportation for the large quantities of building materials nor satisfy the class of guests he wished for

³²

Ibid., p. 6.

³³

St. Augustine Record, July 4, 1937.

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Pacsimile in St. Augustine Record, July 4, 1937.

his hotels. Failing to convince the owners of the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway that it would be to their advantage to modernize the road, Mr. Flagler on December 31, 1886, purchased the stocks and bonds of the company.³⁵

The road was improved and modern equipment was added. On January 10, 1888, the first through all-Pullman vestibule train was operated from Jersey City to Jacksonville making the run in twenty-nine hours and fifty minutes.³⁶

In order to save time and to eliminate inconvenience, Flagler decided to bridge the St. Johns River. The Jacksonville Bridge Company was organized in 1889 for this purpose. The construction of the steel bridge was completed on January 20, 1890. The Savannah Florida and Western built the track from the bridge to the terminal station while the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax River Company operated the bridge. In 1892, the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Indian River Railroad Company bought the controlling stock in the Jacksonville Bridge Company, at the same time leasing the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway Company.³⁷ On September 7, 1895 the name of the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Indian River road was changed to the Florida East Coast Railway Company.³⁸ The

³⁵ Brief History of the Florida East Coast Railway, pp. 8-9.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway Company, which had been leased by the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Indian River Railway, was deeded to the Florida East Coast Railway Company on April 4, 1896. A month later the Jacksonville Bridge Company was acquired by the same organization, owned by Henry M. Flagler.³⁹ Thus, in a period of ten years, Mr. Flagler had combined the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Halifax Railway, the Jacksonville St. Augustine and Indian River Railway, and the Jacksonville Bridge Company into the Florida East Coast Railway Line.

Another road to the south had been constructed in 1882 by the Jacksonville Tampa and Key West Railroad Company which had previously been called the Tampa Pease Creek and St. Johns Railroad. When the charter went into the hands of the Jacksonville Tampa and Key West Railway Company,⁴⁰ Robert H. Coleman of Pennsylvania was president. The company began grading between Jacksonville and Palatka and by 1884, the fifty mile road had been constructed.⁴¹ The portion in Duval County was purchased in 1893 by the Plant Investment Company who sold it to the St. Johns Railway Company. This company, on the same day, conveyed the line to the Savannah Florida and Western Railway

³⁹

Ibid., p. 12.

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Berick, op. cit., II, p. 196.

⁴¹

D. C. Ambler and James P. Taliaferro, of Jacksonville, were the contractors.

Company which later became a part of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.⁴²

A group of Jacksonville citizens, consisting of John Q. Burbridge, Francis E. Spinner, H. S. Ely, J. M. Shumacher, S. P. Hubbard, and others,⁴³ organized on August 29, 1862, a company known as the Arlington and Atlantic Railway. These men wished to construct a road from Jacksonville to a point on the Atlantic Ocean. The name of the company was changed before long to a more descriptive name, Jacksonville and Atlantic Railway. A narrow gauge road, sixteen and one-half miles long, was built to a place on the Atlantic known at that time as Ruby, a settlement consisting of a lone house belonging to the post master.⁴⁴ Upon the entrance of the railroad in 1884, the name was changed to Pablo Beach. John G. Christopher, a Jacksonville citizen, built the Murray Hall Hotel on the Atlantic Coast at Pablo. This hotel was noted as being the most beautiful hotel, architecturally, on the entire Atlantic coast.⁴⁵ During its existence it was the social center of Duval County and northern Florida. However, its life was short as it was destroyed by

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H. D. Plant, The South Atlantic Railways (c. 1895), p. 1.

⁴³ Nerick, op. cit., II, p. 203.

⁴⁴ Webb, op. cit., p. 203.

⁴⁵ Gold, op. cit., p. 181.

fire on August 7, 1891, along with the depot and the surrounding buildings of the railway company. The owners of the road had planned to develop Pablo as a resort town; in fact, the property had been laid out as a town and many lots had been sold. With the destruction of the Murray Hall, the limited patronage of the road caused it to fail. Later, a new Jacksonville and Atlantic Railway company was incorporated but the bonds and capital stock were purchased by Mr. Flagler in 1899.⁴⁶

Another unsuccessful venture was the establishment of a line from Arlington to Mayport to Burnside Beach, north of Pablo Beach, by the Jacksonville Mayport Pablo Railway and Navigation Company in 1886. This road terminated at a point about three miles below Jacksonville where connection was made by a steamer with the city.⁴⁷ This road was unsuccessful in its operation; consequently, it went for sale under foreclosure in 1895.

The Jacksonville Terminal Company was organized in April, 1894, to build a depot, yards, tracks, and shop facilities. The Florida Central and Peninsula, the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Indian River, and the Savannah Florida and Western Railways were the proprietors, each owning one-third of the capital.

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Rerick, *op. cit.*, II, p. 203.

⁴⁷

Ibid., II, p. 203.

stock. Part of the money was raised by selling stock to the three owning railroads and part by a bond issue of \$500,000. The location of the property upon which the terminal was built was low marsh land and 300,000 cubic yards of earth were hauled in to reclaim it. More than 2,100 palmetto pilings were driven for a foundation, some of them to a depth of seventy feet.⁴⁸ This property was bound by Church, Forsyth, and Bay streets on the north, Cleveland Street on the east, McCoy's Creek and Dennis Street on the south and Enterprise Street on the west. The temporary station built on Bay and Stuart streets was opened on February 4, 1896. A brick depot was then constructed by January 15, 1897.⁴⁹ The passenger depot was used by the Savannah Florida and Western, the Florida Central and Indian River, and the Jacksonville Tampa and Key West roads.

Another railroad known as the Georgia Southern and Florida Railway came into Jacksonville from the north in 1899. Before this date, the firm of Baxter and Company, lumber operators at Fargo, Georgia, operated a log train running to the southeast and northwest of Fargo. This firm, composed of G. S. Baxter, Walton Ferguson, Jr., and E. C. Long, together with Walton Ferguson, Sr., incorporated the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway under the Georgia law⁵⁰ to build a road from Valdosta to

⁴⁸ Davis, op. cit., p. 356.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 357.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 352-353.

Jacksonville using the old log road. Wishing a terminal in Jacksonville, the company applied for and received permission from the City Council to construct a road along the St. Johns River waterfront. The franchise was turned over to a corporation known as the St. Johns River Terminal company, owned by Walton Ferguson, Sr., and associates. This company was to operate in connection with the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway. While the St. Johns River Terminal Company was building its road along the river front, the Atlantic Valdosta and Western road was built into Jacksonville to connect with the St. Johns road. A passenger and freight station was built at Catherine and Forsyth streets and used for two or three years. Then, the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway applied for permission to enter the union station but this request was refused. Complaint was made to the State Railroad Commission and an order was issued to the Jacksonville Terminal Company to allow the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway to use the union station. The Terminal Company again refused and the case was taken to the Supreme Court where the decision was made in favor of the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway. In 1902, the stock of the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railway and the St. Johns River Terminal Company was purchased by the Southern Railway in order to secure an entrance into Jacksonville.⁵¹

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Gold, op. cit., p. 186.

In 1899 the Cummer Lumber Company, which had an output of 36,000,000 feet of pine lumber a year,⁵² built the Jacksonville and Southwestern from their mills in Jacksonville by way of Baldwin to Newberry, Florida, a distance of about ninety miles through rich timber lands. In the fall of 1899 passenger service was begun over this road. In 1903 it was sold to Mr. C. W. Chase who conveyed it in 1904 to the Atlantic Coast Line system.⁵³

The following table shows the number of miles of road owned by each company which entered Jacksonville up until December 31, 1900.⁵⁴

	Miles of Main Track	Miles of Side Track
Atlantic Valdosta and Western	48.97	0.06
Florida Central and Peninsula	899.76	9.12
Florida East Coast	494.96	53.94
Georgia Southern and Florida	116.00	10.50
Jacksonville and Southwestern	85.60	6.00
Savannah Florida and Western	<u>618.17</u>	<u>113.62</u>
Total	2,286.96	229.63

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Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 315.

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Davis, op. cit., p. 348.

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Report of Florida State Railroad Commission, 1901, p. 284.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CITY BECOMES OF AGE

The census of 1900 recorded the population of Duval County as 39,733, a gain of 4,870 in ten years. Jacksonville at this time had 28,429 inhabitants and was the largest city in the state with a gain of 6,570 in ten years. During this ten year period the citizens were becoming conscious of the importance of Jacksonville as the leading city in Florida. More thought was given to social development and to civic improvement than had been given in the past. Little did the citizens know that one misfortune would follow another until the city as they had built it was completely destroyed.

Many organizations were established in Jacksonville during the latter part of the nineteenth century. First in their respective fields, the majority of these organizations paved the way for similar organizations throughout the state. The Seminole Club was organized for social purposes on April 19, 1887.¹ On

¹
Davis, op. cit., p. 446.



— Total
 White
 — Negro

1822 1830 1840 1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900

POPULATION OF JACKSONVILLE 1822-1900

June 25, 1898,² a charter was granted to the Morocco Temple of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The Jacksonville Lodge No. 221 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks was chartered on December 12, 1891.³ On January 12, 1896 Temple Lodge No. 23 of the Masons was chartered with Wilbur P. Webster as Worshipful Master, and twenty members.⁴ Ionic Lodge, No. 101 of the Masons, was chartered on January 17, 1900, with David P. Myerson, Worshipful Master and seventeen charter members.⁵ The Palmetto Camp No. 3, Woodmen of the World was chartered on April 22, 1893.⁶

The Friday Musicale of Jacksonville was founded as "The Ladies Friday Musicale" by Mrs. Charles S. Adams in 1890. Meetings were held in the home of Mrs. Adams until 1893 when the ladies organized a permanent club.⁷

The first chapter of the United Daughters of Confederacy in Jacksonville developed from an organization known as the Woman's Confederate Home Association of Jacksonville whose purpose it was to establish a home for destitute Confederate

² Gold, op. cit., p. 188.

³ Ibid., p. 188.

⁴ Ibid., p. 190.

⁵ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶ Ibid., p. 190.

⁷ Ibid., p. 189.

soldiers. Upon application to the general United Daughters of the Confederacy, founded in 1894, this organization obtained a charter on November 8, 1895, as the Martha Reid Chapter No. 19.⁸

Through the efforts of Mrs. John G. Christopher, the Jacksonville Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized and chartered on February 14, 1896. This was the first chapter of this organization in Florida.⁹

The first golf club in Jacksonville and in Florida was organized on February 26, 1896 under the name of the St. Johns Golf Club. Links were laid out on the south side of the St. Johns River. On July 28, 1890, the organization was incorporated as the Jacksonville Country Club. The following September the name was changed to the Florida Country Club and moved to the north side of the river.¹⁰

The Woman's Club of Jacksonville was founded in 1897, the object being to give aid to any worthy cause. A year later the club joined the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs and the General Federation of Women's Clubs of the United States.¹¹

The National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Florida was organized in Jacksonville on December 8,

⁸ Davis, op. cit., pp. 446-447.

⁹ Ibid., p. 440.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 441.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 437.

1898. The object of the organization was to collect and preserve manuscripts and historic data of the Colonial period, to stimulate a love of history and to stimulate a love for country. A provision of the charter stated that the annual elections should always be held in Jacksonville. There were no local chapters. ¹²

On May 11, 1900, the Home for the Aged was incorporated which was a reorganization of the Home for the Aged Women founded in 1890. ¹³

The Duval Athletic Club was organized in October, 1893, for the purpose of securing the world's championship fight between J. J. Corbett and Charles Mitchell. All preliminary arrangements had been made when the governor issued notice that force would be used, if necessary, to prevent this fight. Corbett arrived in Jacksonville about the middle of December and went into training at Mayport. Mitchell came two weeks later and was arrested upon his arrival; he gave bond for \$1500 and established training headquarters at St. Augustine. The governor ordered the second battalion of State troops to Jacksonville to assist the sheriff in stopping the fight. However, immediately before the big event, the Duval Athletic Club secured an injunction against interference by the authorities. The fight took place on the afternoon of January 25, 1894, at the old

¹²

Ibid., p. 444.

¹³

Gold, op. cit., p. 106.

fairgrounds in Fairfield with 1800 spectators present. Corbett won by a knockout in the third round after which both contestants were arrested for assault and battery.¹⁴ At the next meeting of the legislature, an act was passed prohibiting prize fighting and pugilistic exhibitions.

In the preceding year the legislature restored the elective franchise to the qualified voters of the city. The charter was amended and now provided for a government composed of a mayor, seven councilmen-at-large, comptroller, and treasurer, to be elected by the qualified electors at large; nine ward councilmen, to be elected by their respective wards; three members of a Board of Public Works, three members of a Board of Police Commissioners, a municipal judge, a recorder, a marshall, and other officers not provided for, to be elected by the City Council.¹⁵

In the Legislative session of 1895 an act approved May 27, repealed the Act of 1893 as to the election of the municipal officers for the city of Jacksonville. The offices of councilmen-at-large and the Board of Police Commissioners were abolished, the duties of the Board of Police Commissioners being given to a new committee called the Board of Elections Commissioners.

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Evening Telegram, January 26, 1894.

¹⁵

Laws of Florida, 1893, Chapter 4301.

The five members of this board were elected by the qualified voters. The number of ward councilmen was increased to two representatives from each ward. The officers for the positions of recorder, municipal judge, and marshal were now selected by popular vote.¹⁶

In 1899 the Board of Elections Commissioners was abolished and its duties were absorbed by the Board of Bond Trustees, which had been created in 1893 by an ordinance of the City Council.¹⁷ The Board now had power to appoint all officers not elected by the people, and all members of the police force, subject to the approval of two-thirds of the members of the City Council. The Board was also given broad powers in reference to the removal of members of the police force and to the control of the electric light plant.¹⁸

Jacksonville's first bond issue for general improvements was approved on May 30, 1893, the legislature authorizing a bond issue of \$1,000,000 Waterworks and Improvements Bonds. The issue was approved by the voters October 17, 1893 in the following apportionments:¹⁹

¹⁶ Laws of Florida, 1895, Chapter 4498.

¹⁷ Davis, op. cit., p. 289.

¹⁸ Laws of Florida, 1899, Chapter 4872.

¹⁹ Davis, op. cit., p. 316.

For redemption of outstanding Sanitary Bonds	\$200,000
For extending and improving Waterworks	225,000
For extending and improving sewerage and drainage	175,000
For opening and improving streets and parks	175,000
For purchasing site and building City Building	100,000
For erecting electric light plant	75,000
For bulkheading street fronts	25,000
For enlarging fire department	25,000

By the provision made in the bond issue of 1893, the last of the Sanitary Bonds, issued in 1878, were called in and paid on August 16, 1895. Thus, the waterworks became a possession of the City of Jacksonville. Artesian water was now furnished to the residents of the city for twelve dollars a year for each house, allowing an average of three hundred gallons per day.²⁰

The first structural improvements at the waterworks plant were made in 1896 when the pumping station was enlarged. During the same year a twelve inch pipe was drilled 950 feet at Seventh and Silver streets. This gave an additional 800,000 gallons of water per day.²¹ Two years later a reservoir of 200 x 160 feet and thirteen feet deep was constructed, having a capacity of

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Report of Board of Trade, 1902, p. 81.

²¹ G. W. Simons, An Industrial Survey of Jacksonville (Jacksonville, 1930), p. 82.

2,400,000 gallons.²²

In 1892 the first idea of brick paving was advanced. The work of removing the wooden paving blocks began in 1893. By June 1, 1894, Bay Street was paved with brick from Bridge to Market streets. By the end of 1896 the paving in the city amounted to 6.8 miles of vitrified brick, 6.7 miles marl and rock, and 3.6 miles shell.²³

The walks, ponds, and shrubbery of the Hemming, Riverside, and Springfield Parks were improved with money from the bond issue of 1893.²⁴

In November, 1892, the City Council contracted with the Jacksonville Electric Company to supply ten arc lights on Bay Street from Bridge to Liberty. For gas and electricity both the city and the residents were dependent upon the Citizens Gas and Electric Light Company which owned the only gas works and had the controlling stock in the Jacksonville Electric Light Company. As a result, this company fixed the prices for gas and electricity. The bond issue of 1893 provided for the erection of an electric light plant. Accordingly, the plant was erected next to the waterworks at a cost of \$76,675, and turned over to the city for operation. The prices were then fixed by

²²

Davis, op. cit., p. 322.

²³

Ibid., p. 327.

²⁴

Ibid., pp. 333-334.

the City Council, the rate being seven cents per thousand watts for incandescent lights, and seven dollars and fifty cents per month for two thousand candle-power arc lights.²⁵ This rate was much lower than the rate set by the privately owned company.

The \$10,000 provided by the bond issue of 1893 for the purchase of a site and the erection of a city building resulted in a two-story red brick City Hall and Market on Ocean Street between Forsyth and Adams streets. The first floor was used for a market and was so constructed that the lower floor could be flooded and thoroughly cleansed. The second floor contained the Council Chamber and the city offices. The cost of this improvement, including the site and the furniture, was \$97,000.²⁶

During this period of city improvements, the county and the United States Government built new buildings. The county constructed an armory, supposedly fireproof, on the southwest corner of Market and Adams streets at the cost of \$24,000.²⁷ Work on the United States Government building on the northeast corner of Forsyth and Hogan streets began in September, 1892, and ended in 1895. The United States appropriated \$250,000 for this improvement.²⁸

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Report of Board of Trade, 1902, p. 81.

²⁶

Davis, on. sit., p. 332.

²⁷

Ibid., p. 474.

²⁸

Ibid., p. 340.

Five fire stations were built in different sections of the city with the money provided in the bond issue.²⁹

This growth of Jacksonville was temporarily retarded by several disasters. The panic of 1893 caused a short financial depression in which one bank, the Dime Savings Bank, went out of business.³⁰ In 1894 the price of cotton was the lowest ever known.³¹ The crop that year was a failure and Jacksonville as a market suffered in consequence. The freezes of that winter added to the calamity. On December 29, 1894, the temperature fell to fourteen degrees above zero, killing the leaves, damaging the fruit, and seriously hurting the orange trees. This was followed by a period of spring-like weather in which buds and leaves appeared on the trees, but again, on February 7, 1895, came a blizzard which lasted for five days. Snow fell for the first time since 1835³² and the temperature went to the lowest point ever recorded in the city up to that time.³³ The sap in the trees froze, the bark split and cracked; nearly all the trees were killed. There was a great loss of property and many wealthy people were left penniless. Jacksonville suffered

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Davis, op. cit., pp. 313-314.

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Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 55.

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Sold, op. cit., p. 190.

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Rerick, op. cit., II, p. 266.

³³

Records of Weather Bureau, Jacksonville, Florida.

because Duval County was one of the leading citrus fruit sections at this time.³⁴ It was estimated that there was \$75,000,000 worth of damage done to the orange industry in Florida. After the "big freeze" many fruit growers moved to the southern part of the state, others took up new industries, and a few started again with citrus fruit growing. Again, on February 12-13, 1899 came a freeze. The thermometer went down to ten degrees above zero, the coldest weather since the freeze of 1835.³⁵ Snow fell to a depth of two inches and remained on the ground for a day. Again, the vegetable crops, fruit trees, and even forest trees were killed.

The city had no sooner recovered from the effects of the freeze than the greatest disaster in the history of Jacksonville occurred. On May 3, 1901, the greater part of the city was destroyed by fire. About noon of that day sparks from a Negro shanty ignited the fiber which had been laid out to dry in the Cleveland Fiber Factory on Beaver and Davis streets in the northwest section of the city. Attempts were made to extinguish the flames with buckets of water but soon the whole factory was in flames. The fire alarm was turned in, but before the Fire Department could reach the place, the adjacent buildings were burning.

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Gold, op. cit., p. 191.

³⁵

Records of Weather Bureau, Jacksonville, Florida.

A fresh west-northwest wind was blowing, and when the burning buildings caved in, sparks and particles of burning fiber were carried swiftly to nearby buildings and residences built of pitch pine. As there had been a long dry spell, the fire spread rapidly. One newspaper account states that fire spread as fast as a man could walk.³⁶

In thirty minutes, Hanesontown, a suburb in the northwest, was all on fire, and the flames were spreading eastward to Bridge Street. The wind increased and carried the fire into the city proper. The Fire Department was unable to cope with such a situation. It is said that the fire hose burned as the water passed through it. Help was asked from the cities of St. Augustine, Savannah, Fernandina, Brunswick, and Waycross. The Fernandina company arrived first and two hours and thirty minutes after the message had been sent, the Savannah Fire Department was at the Union Station. These fire departments were of great service.

The progress of the fire is described in the following newspaper article which appeared the morning after the fire:

With incredible speed the fire spread, continuing to widen its devastating line of march. By 2:45 o'clock the handsome residences in the vicinity of Julia and Church streets were blazing, the flames in the meantime having converted into smoking piles of ashes the thickly built portion of Ashley

Street, between Cedar and Hogan. The vast majority of these houses, as indeed are most of the residences in Jacksonville, were frame structures. They burned like cigar boxes, like chaff, as the thundering, mighty, lurid storm-wave of fire rolled to the east, ever to the east, and swept the area bare.

At twenty minutes past three the Windsor Hotel was in a blaze. This great box-like building, covering the entire block bounded by Hogan, Duval, Julia, and Monroe Streets, burned with awful fury. Fortunately all the guests had warning and the building's upper floors were empty when the fire came. The burning of a hotel like the Windsor would ordinarily be regarded as a disaster in itself, but yesterday it lapsed into insignificance, even though alone its destruction involved a loss of \$175,000.

A few minutes later the St. James, which has been closed since April 19, was a mass of flames. Although partly a brick structure, it, too, burned like tinder. By this time, in the general cataclysm of destruction the loss of individual buildings was lost sight of. Isolated houses, one and two hundred yards to the eastward, were burning, and fresh nuclei of flame were being added. Still progress was steadily to the east. Twenty minutes prior to the ignition of the St. James, houses here and there east on Duval and Laura were burning. All in a moment a blinding typhoon of smoke and dust came with an overwhelming power, blowing eastward, and it was necessary for those in the street to run to escape it.

For a time it seemed that the fierce advance was straight to the east. House after house succumbed. No effort was made to save buildings now. Everyone knew that to save any building in the track of the fury was impossible, and on and on it sped. Churches, public buildings and shops were destroyed.

At four-thirty o'clock, St. Johns Episcopal Church neighborhood was the center of the conflagration. It lived but a few minutes. The Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception, St. Joseph's Orphanage and the Convent soon fell prey to the devourer. Now the blaze raged along Duval and Adams, but the wind changed and the conquering blaze veered to the south. The armory was burned. In the space of a few

minutes the fire crossed blocks southward, and beautiful home after home became a torch, its light lost in the monstrous mass of red illumination. The Duval Street viaduct was on fire at 5 o'clock. The vacant meadow over which it passes was covered with furniture and household goods.

The fires were raging all the time in the section north of Adams and east of Laura. The Massey Business College building became ignited on Main Street, and irresistible the flames crept toward Bay Street.

Until now it was thought that Bay Street would escape, but the thought was in vain. The terror was bending in a fatal embrace to the South. The roar and crackle resounded as the great pinions of fire moved skyward, sending showers of cinders far into the St. Johns. The Emery Auditorium was a victim. Then the Board of Trade building, the Seminole Club, the Metropolis publication building, the City Hall building and market, and the Hubbard building in turn were burned. In the last were great stores of dynamite, powder and ammunition, and there was explosion after explosion, adding to the dangers that surrounded the firemen on every side.

Then to Bay Street the flames ate their way. The new Furchgott building was in a few minutes blazing, and the leap to the Gardiner building, towering six stories high, was easy. The heat was intolerable. Building after building on the opposite side of the street was soon a mass of flames.

Night had fallen.... About 7:30 o'clock the wind died. The flames had lapped up everything in their way from the Cleveland Factory to the Duval Street viaduct, and back on Bay to Laura. The flames were under control at 8:30 p.m. 37

During the fire a blanket of smoke and flame covered the city almost shutting out the light. In Raleigh, North Carolina,

the flames of the burning city were seen about dark and men turned to each other and remarked that a city must be burning to the south. In Savannah, the smoke of the earlier afternoon was supposed to indicate a coming storm and inquiries were made at the weather bureau.

38

While the city was burning, the scene was one of intense confusion; after the fire died down, the scene was one of desolation. That night the inhabitants settled in vacant lots and under the trees in the area outside the burned district, many of them unable to realize that they had lost practically all of their possessions.

The morning after the fire the citizens met in the United States Government building to consider immediate relief measures. A committee was appointed to prepare plans for instant relief. This committee was called the Jacksonville Relief Association and included men who had been prominent in the yellow fever epidemic relief work in 1888. As these men were experienced, it was not long before a smoothly working organization had been perfected. Before noon, food supplies were being issued to those who were hungry. Donations from citizens were sufficient until May 13, when an appeal was sent out to the citizens of the United States for assistance.

In response to this message, many telegrams offering

38

Benjamin Harrison, Acres of Ashes (Jacksonville, 1901).

assistance and expressing sympathy were received from almost every state in the United States. The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York and the Merchant's Association of New York formed a relief committee authorizing a sum of \$20,000 for supplies for the devasted area. Several railroads offered their services to transport the supplies free of charge. Twelve freight cars of food and clothing were sent to Jacksonville on May 7 and Mr. William J. Mills came from New York to supervise the distribution of these supplies.³⁹ Cash donations were made in addition to the supplies sent from New York. The Jacksonville Relief Association report stated that a total of \$224,913.72 in cash was sent to the stricken city, while the value of the supplies sent was approximately \$200,000. The various railroads as well as the Western Union offered help to the Association.⁴⁰

In the distribution of the supplies eleven commissaries were set up in different parts of the city. A temporary wooden warehouse was erected for the main commissary. The ten sub-commissaries consisted of several tents placed at convenient places in the city. Each of these sub-stations made daily reports to Mr. J. R. Parrott, chairman of this committee, as to the number of people fed and clothed. When supplies were needed,

³⁹ Report of Jacksonville Relief Association (Jacksonville, 1901), pp. 10-13.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 108.

requisitions were made out by the sub-commissary and counter-signed by Mr. Parrott. During the first week of the fire, between 10,000 and 11,000 people were fed.⁴¹ One of the worst features of the fire was that able-bodied Negro men refused to work while free rations were being distributed. The men would send the women or children for supplies. So Mr. Parrott had identification cards printed and these cards had to be signed by the head of the family. It was necessary to state the number of people in the family and this was carefully checked. The cards were stamped numerically for each day and when a person received rations, the number on the card was punched out. This prevented repetition and forced the able-bodied men to work.⁴² The desired effect was shown on the following day when the number of applicants for rations decreased fifty per cent and the number of applications for work increased several hundred persons.

For the purpose of giving employment to the idle and at the same time to clean up the burned district, work was given to 1,673 persons and 113 teams. All able-bodied men were required to work, and under the leadership of Mr. Telfair Stockton, the employment bureau reported that 22.46 miles of streets had

⁴¹

Ibid., p. 17.

⁴²

Bayannah Times, May 12, 1901; Jacksonville Metropolis, May 10, 1901.

been cleaned, low and unsanitary places filled, thousands of trees and telephone poles cut down, or dug up, and hauled away, 3,000 stumps of trees removed, and much debris removed from churches, schoolhouses, and residences.⁴³

The work of the sanitation committee under the leadership of Mr. Alton W. Cockrell, Jr. was important. Dead animals and other noxious substances were removed, broken sewers repaired, sanitary conditions in camps were enforced.⁴⁴ The lodging committee, within a short time after the fire, had provided every homeless person with some sort of comfortable shelter.⁴⁵ The transportation committee provided over 5,000 persons with transportation to all parts of the country.⁴⁶

A woman's auxiliary was organized soon after the relief committee was named. They had an information bureau, a dispensary where medicine and nurses could be obtained, a serving tent where employment was given, a purchasing department, and a commissary.⁴⁷

From 12:30 o'clock until 8:30 o'clock, the fire destroyed an area covering 466 acres of the most populous section of the

⁴³ Report of Jacksonville Relief Association, p. 63.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 65.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

city. One hundred and forty six city blocks and 2,368 buildings were destroyed. Every public building except the United States Government building was burned, together with public records. Only three buildings escaped the fire; these were in widely separated points at the edge of the fire. The number of people directly involved in the fire, in business or otherwise, was 9,501; the number who resided in the burned district was 8,677.⁴⁸ It was estimated that there were 15,000 persons in section at the time of the fire. Only seven lives were lost. The total value of all the property destroyed by the fire was approximately \$15,000,000, of which \$4,000,000 was not insured.⁴⁹ The remaining \$11,000,000 was insured for \$5,650,000.

The rebuilding of Jacksonville began on May 6 when the first building permit was issued to Rudolph Grunthal. By the end of 1901 the number of building permits for permanent structures in the burned area equaled nearly half the number of the buildings destroyed in the fire. The story of Jacksonville's re-creation was told by a New York newspaper correspondent:

It is one of the dramatic spectacles of this astonishing era of American prosperity, this magic transformation of Jacksonville, a ruined waste, into Jacksonville the brightest, handsomest, and best built of any of the smaller

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Davis, op. cit., p. 226.

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Harrison, Acres of Ashes: Florida Times Union and Citizen, May 4, 1901.

cities in the new South.... Just as Jacksonville's disaster was proportionately heavier than that of Chicago, so was her recovery even more remarkable. Up to the present moment the resurrection of Jacksonville stands unchallenged at the head of all similar feats of recuperation in the history of the country. 50

CATHERINE

WASHINGTON

LIBERTY

MARKET

NEW YORK

OCEAN

MAIN

LAURA

SEASIDE

SULIA

CEDAR

CLAY

BRIDEE

JEFFERSON

MADISON

DAVIS

LEE

CABLE

CAROLINA

NORTH

ORANGE

STATE

UNION

BEAVER

HOGAN

FISHLER

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DUVAL

MONROE

ADAMS

FORSYTH

BAY

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This book contains many recollections of old citizens. Much data was given to this author by Mrs. William M. Bostwick, an old resident, who acted as a secretary of several "old Timers" meetings in Jacksonville.

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This book was published shortly after Webb's book. It contains a description of the city's history, industries, churches, schools, hospitals, hotels, and other institutions with sketches of some of its business and professional men. The purpose of the book according to the author was to furnish a picture of Jacksonville as it was in 1885. He was assisted in his work by Dr. Baldwin, Major Fairbanks, Harrison Reed, Dr. Kenworthy, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Ambler, General F. Spinner, Mrs. Susan L'Engle, Mr. O. L. Keene, pastors, and gentlemen.

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These volumes were edited by Francis P. Fleming who was governor of Florida in 1882-1886. Volume one contains a general history of Florida as a province, territory, and state. Volume two contains special chapters devoted to finance and banking, bench and bar, medical profession, railroads and navigation, and industrial interests. Both volumes contain accurate citations of the laws of the state besides statements and speeches of prominent people. Both volumes contain about seven hundred pages of personal memoirs of citizens of Florida.

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This is the earliest book written about Jacksonville. The author took charge of the city directories beginning in 1876 and from this study and the information he was able to obtain from the citizens and the state Bureau of Immigration, he compiled this book.

Webb, W. S., Jacksonville Directory for 1876-7. New York: W. S. Webb Company, 1876.

This directory was compiled with the help of all the Jacksonville newspapers.

2. Pamphlets

A Seminole Tragedy: A narrative of the life and suffering of Mrs. Jane Johns who was wounded and scalped by the Indians in East Florida in 1830. Jacksonville: The Drew Press, 1875.

This pamphlet was written for the benefit of Mrs. Johns in 1847; later it was reprinted from the first edition for the benefit of the same lady.

Bartram, John, An Account of East Florida. Fernandina: Office of Fernandina Mirror, 1881.

This pamphlet was reprinted from one published in 1765 in connection with the findings of a London scientist.

Burritt, Elihu, Experiences in a Stricken City. Jacksonville: Riverside Press, 1888.

This contains a description of the yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville in 1888.

Daniel, R. P., Report on Yellow Fever in Jacksonville, Florida in 1877. Jacksonville: Union Book and Job Printing Company, 1878.

This paper was delivered before the 1878 session of the Florida Medical Association held in Jacksonville.

Harrison, Benjamin, Acres of Ashes. Jacksonville: Holloman, 1901.

The author bases his account of the fire of 1901 upon personal experiences and the newspaper files.

Higginson, T. W., The Reoccupation of Jacksonville in 1863. N.p., 1900.

This contains a personal account of the Federal occupation of Jacksonville during 1863. The author was the commander of Negro troops.

Keene, C. L., Jacksonville Fifty Three Years Ago.
Jacksonville: Florida Metropolis, 1908.

The author was the manager of the Judson House until it was burned in the Civil War. He remained in the city after the war becoming one of its most valuable citizens. This pamphlet contains personal recollections of events in the city.

Jones, Charles C., The Evacuation of Battery Wagner and the Battle of Ocean Pond. Augusta: Chronicle Printing Company, 1888.

Mr. Jones delivered this as an address before the Confederate Survivors Association in Augusta, Georgia, on Memorial Day, April 26, 1888.

Ley, John C., Fifty Two Years in Florida. Dallas: M. E. Publishing House, 1907.

This pamphlet contains the personal experiences of an itinerant Methodist preacher on the Florida circuit.

Report of Florida State Railroad Commission, 1901.
Tallahassee: n.p., 1901.

Report of Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association Governing Yellow Fever, 1888. Jacksonville: The Drew Press, 1889.

Report of Jacksonville Board of Trade, January 1, 1896 to December 31, 1903. Jacksonville: Garrett Printing Company, 1903.

Report of Jacksonville Relief Association. Jacksonville: S. P. Hall and Sons, 1901.

Report of Secretary of Board of Trustees Internal Improvement Fund, 1881, printed in the General Assembly House Journal of 1883. Tallahassee: 1883.

Robinson, Hy., Story of Post Bellum Jacksonville in a Nutshell. Jacksonville, 1902.

The author who was a doctor and a druggist moved to Jacksonville from

South Carolina in 1868. In Jacksonville he established a drug store and became a leader in the social and political life of the town.

Tenney, John Francis, Slavery, Secession, and Success.
San Antonio, Texas: Southern Literary Institute, 1934.

The author was a northern lumber man who came to Jacksonville to investigate the lumber business. This pamphlet contains personal recollections. Mr. Tenney visited Jacksonville many times before he died at the age of 93.

3. Newspapers

Daily Florida Union, Jacksonville.

July 17, 1879
March 22, 1881

Evening Telegram, Jacksonville.

January 26, 1894

Florida News, Jacksonville.

August 7, 1850
April 24, 1852
May 1, 1852
May 8, 1852
May 15, 1852
December 11, 1852
October 13, 1856

Florida Republican, Jacksonville.

April 6, 1854

Florida Times Union, Jacksonville.

February 8, 1863
October 9, 1868

Florida Times Union and Citizen, Jacksonville.

May 4, 1901

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Journal, New York.

January 21, 1858

Jacksonville Courier, Jacksonville.

January 29, 1836
August 3, 1837

Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Sun, Jacksonville.

January 22, 1876
 January 27, 1876
 February 1, 1876

Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Union, Jacksonville.

May 5, 1870
 October 21, 1873

New York Sun, New York.

December 19, 1902

New York Tribune, New York.

March 24, 1862
 March 29, 1863
 August 8, 1865

St. Augustine Record, St. Augustine.

July 4, 1837 (Historical edition)

Savannah Times, Savannah.

May 12, 1901

The Fair Deal, Jacksonville.

February 9, 1881

4. Miscellaneous

Records of Weather Bureau from 1835-1902, Jacksonville Florida.

B. Secondary

1. Books

Brown, Paul S., The Book of Jacksonville. Poughkeepsie, New York: A. V. Naight, 1895.

This book covers the history of the town from 1875-1895. It contains reports, charts, messages, letters, statistics, and pictures. Unfortunately, it is not too reliable.

Cochran, T. E., History of Public School Education in Florida. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1921.

Dickison, Mary Elizabeth, Dickison and His Men. Louisville: Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1890.

This book contains the memoirs of a Confederate soldier who was regarded by many as a very romantic and daring individual.

Drew, A. J., Columbus Drew. Jacksonville: The Drew Press, 1910.

The author has combined a biography of Columbus Drew with copies of the subject's literary achievements, a history of the city and a collection of poems.

Gold, Pleasant Daniel, History of Duval County, Florida. St. Augustine: Record Company, 1929.

This is secondary material but it is the only book that has been written about Duval County. It is most valuable for the citations of laws and the stories told to the author by the families whose biographies are contained in the book.

Knauss, James Owen, Territorial Florida Journalism. DeLand, Florida: Florida Historical Society, 1926.

This book contains accounts of early newspapers in Florida, sketches of the editors of these papers, a catalog of these early papers and the location of the early issues. This is the only book which has been written on this subject.

Swanton, John R., Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. Washington: Government Printing Press, 1922.

This book deals with the Indians of Florida and contains a classification of tribes.

Wallace, John, Carpet Bag Rule in Florida. Jacksonville: Da Costa Printing and Publishing House, 1888.

The author of this book was a Negro.

The book deals with the inside workings of the reconstruction of civil government in Florida after the Civil War.

Williams, John Lee, History of Florida. New York: A. T. Goodrich, 1837.

This is a general history of Florida which provides a descriptive background for the Seminole War.

2. Pamphlets

Brief History of the Florida East Coast Railway.
Jacksonville: n.p., c. 1936.

Daniel, J. J., Historical Sketches of the Church in Florida. Jacksonville: The Drew Press, 1903.

Hawke, J. W., Historical Sketch of Jacksonville.
Jacksonville; Florida Union and Job Printing Office, 1870.

Plant, W. D., South Atlantic Railways. N.p., c. 1895.

Records of the Seaboard Air Line Railway. Jacksonville: n.p., c. 1915.

APPENDIX
LIST OF MAYORS OF JACKSONVILLE

1832-33	William J. Mills	1873-74	J. C. Greeley
1833-34	William J. Mills	1874-75	Peter Jones
1834-35	William J. Mills	1875-76	Peter Jones
1839-40	Stephen Eddy	1876-77	Luther McConihe
1840-41	None	1877-78	W. Stokes Boyd
1844-45	Obediah Congar	1878-79	Lather McConihe
1846-47	Joseph B. Lancaster	1879-80	Peter Jones
1849-50	Rodney Porman	1880-81	J. Ramsey Dey
1850-51	J. McR. Baker	1881-82	M. A. Dzialynski
1851-52	Rodney Porman	1882-83	M. A. Dzialynski
1852-53	H. D. Holland	1883-84	M. Mel. Dancy
1855-56	Philip Fraser	1884-85	M. Mel. Dancy
1856-57	P. I. Wheaton	1885-86	M. C. Rice
1861-62	H. H. Moog	1886-87	P. McQuaid
1862-63	None	1887-88	J. Q. Burbridge
1866-67	Holmes Steele	1888-89	C. B. Smith
1867-68	John Clark	1889-91	P. McQuaid
1868-69	Edward Hopkins	1891-93	H. Robinson
1869-70	Edward Hopkins	1893-95	D. U. Fletcher
1870-71	Peter Jones	1895-97	William M. Boatwick
1871-72	Peter Jones	1897-99	R. D. Knight
1872-73	Peter Jones	1899-	
		1901	J. E. T. Bowden

Date Unknown

William Grothe
F. C. Barrett



